

CENSUS OF INDIA, 1911.

VOL III.

ASSAM.

PART I.—REPORT.

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VOLUME III.

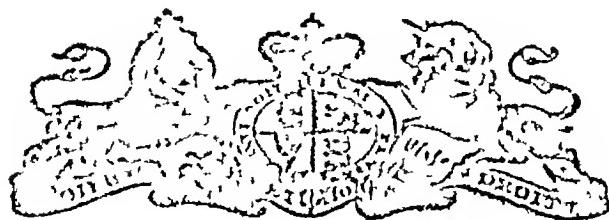
ASSAM.

PART I. REPORT.

BY

J. McSWINEY, M.A.

DEPARTMENT OF CENSUS OPERATIONS IN ASSAM



SHILLONG

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REPORT.

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INTRODUCTION.

1 This is the fifth census of Assam, which in 1872, at the time of the first census of India, was included in Bengal and at the census of 1911 Previous censuses was part of Eastern Bengal and Assam. The different

standards of accuracy of previous censuses are discussed in Chapter II briefly that of 1872 is negligible and that of 1881 was not sufficiently supervised, but those of 1891 and 1901 are reliable. The population of Manipur in 1891 was omitted from the report of that year because of the loss of enumeration papers in the rising, but the population of Mokakchong subdivision of Naga Hills and an estimate of the population in North Lushai were added. In 1901 Manipur and the whole of the present Lushai Hills district were included. At the present census an unsurveyed tract of Sema and Eastern Angami villages, whose population amounted to 39,583, was the only addition to the area of the province.

2 The enumeration was mostly synchronous, but in certain areas, where on account of the scanty population and want of literate The enumeration persons this was impossible, the counting spread over a

period and in certain other places a modified form of synchronous enumeration was adopted. The synchronous system was enforced in all the plains districts, including the plains mauzas of Garo Hills, in Lushai Hills, in part of Khasi and Jaintia Hills, in Duars Bagari and Eastern Rengma of the Mikir hill tract in Sibsagar and in the valley of Manipur State. The modified synchronous procedure was adopted in the rest of Khasi and Jaintia Hills, in the Mikir hill tract in Nowgong, in mauzas Western and Naga Rengma of the same tract in Sibsagar, and in North Cachar. The census was non-synchronous in the hill mauzas of Garo Hills, in Duardisa and Borjar in the Mikir hill tract of Sibsagar, and in the Sadiya tract and amongst the Sarkari Nagas of Lakhimpur.

The whole province was divided into blocks containing an average of 38 to 40 houses in the synchronous tracts and about 80 to 90 houses in the rest in the hills of Manipur the average was as high as 141 houses per block. Each block was in the charge of an enumerator, over him was a supervisor, who was in charge of a circle consisting on an average of 11 blocks and was subject to a Charge Superintendent, who had about 14 to 20 circles to look after. The Census Officer of each district was responsible for the adequate training of these functionaries, who were unpaid except in parts of the hill districts at the top was the Deputy Commissioner of each district. Operations began in January 1910, when the area of each district was carefully distributed by means of maps and local enquiries into charges, circles and blocks. Next all the houses were numbered and finally the preliminary enumeration began by January 1911 the entries were mostly written on blank paper in order to avoid erasures by inspecting officers on the forms, and were copied on to the schedules by the end of February. On the night of the 10th March 1911 each enumerator in the synchronous tracts visited each house in his block, added the names of new arrivals and crossed out the names of those absent or dead. In the modified synchronous tracts the preliminary record was brought up to date on the morning of the 11th March from the reports of village headmen to the enumerators, who took up positions at convenient centres. In the non-synchronous areas no attempt was made to correct the preliminary record after it had been checked by inspecting officers. Special arrangements were made for large assemblies at fairs, etc., for mooring-ghats, and travellers by road, river or train these are detailed in the administrative report of the census, which is published separately.

3 On the morning of the 12th March 1911 the enumerators assembled at centres and prepared abstracts showing the total population by sex and the number of houses in their blocks the super-

visor of each circle then sent similar totals to the Charge Superintendents, and the latter to the district Census Officer. The Deputy Commissioner then telegraphed the district totals to the Census Commissioner. All the figures except those of Lushai Hills were complete by the 17th March the delay in Lushai Hills was due to difficulties in getting in the totals of Military Police outposts, the whole battalion being censused together, which was a mistake and kept the district totals back till 21st March fortunately the wooden spoon was annexed by a Burma district. The final totals of the province were only 55 in excess of the provisional figures, which is equivalent to an error of .00007 per cent. Lakhimpur and Cachar totals were wired on the

13th March and were less than the final figures by '0.4 and '074 per cent., respectively allowance must always be made on those occasions for figures of travellers by steamer or road which were received after the district figures had been telegraphed.

4. As soon as possible the schedules were sent to the headquarters, which were usually those of the district, so that the entries of each individual might be copied on to slips. These were similar to the slips used for the first time in 1901. The arrangements were generally in the hands of the Deputy Commissioners, but there was a Central Office under a Deputy Superintendent at Gauhati, where the schedules of Kharup, Garo Hills, and the subdivisions of Blangaldai and North Lakhimpur were copied by a staff which was the nucleus of the future sorting establishment. The schedules of Cachar and the subdivisions of Karimganj, South Sylhet and Habiganj were copied at the Central Office at Chittagong. The work of copying began on the 16th in March and was completed in the late province of Eastern Bengal and Assam on 10th June 1911. A gang of 8 to 10 copyists was placed under a supervisor and the work was paid for at the rate of 8 pico per hundred slips copied. The average daily output per copyist rose from 378 in the beginning to 601 when work was in full swing at the end of April. The maximum number of copyists employed in Eastern Bengal and Assam was 1,701. Special care was taken to ensure accuracy as well as large outputs and on the whole the work was well done. The office at Gauhati was the best in the late province at this branch of the work.

After all the entries had been copied on to the slips, the latter were despatched to the Central Offices for sorting and compilation of the tables. Those of the Burma Valley and Lushai Hills were sorted at Chittagong and of the rest of Assam at Gauhati. Sorting was completed by the end of August. During the process of sorting compilation began and was completed in the Gauhati office by the 11th November 1911 three weeks before either of the other offices finished. The compilation registers were sent to my office for check and comparison and a small staff was maintained in the Central Offices until 31st March 1912 for references and re-sorting when necessary. The work done in the Gauhati office was excellent and in many ways the best. The staff was not recruited from the Land Records establishment as in 1901, and the sorters were mostly young men with all sorts of education down to the Lower Primary standard; this made the work of the Deputy Superintendent more difficult than elsewhere.

5. The only practical method of estimating the cost of the census in Assam, it seems to me, is to calculate the cost per thousand in

cost

Eastern Bengal and Assam up to 31st March 1912 and to

add to this the additional cost per thousand in Assam up to the close of my office. The figures of expenditure I have taken are those of the Accounts Department, which show the extra cost of the census to Government. For example, my pay was not debited to census, but the extra expense which Government incurred by the fact of some junior officer acting in the post which I would have held. The larger the province is, the less per mille of population is the cost of the pay of the Superintendent and his deputation allowance. This and the fact that no extra expense was incurred on my account since April 1912 must be remembered when comparing the cost of the present census with that of the last. The accounts of 1912-1913 are not yet complete, but I have allowed for a staff up to 31st December next, which is the last possible date for closing the office, for a share of the cost of the Decon office in April and May 1913 as estimated by the Superintendent of Census Operations, Bengal, for future press charges on the estimate of the Superintendent of the Secretariat Press who is printing the report, and for a deputation allowance for myself which has not yet been sanctioned. I have included the total cost of the census of Manipur because the State paid us only for the enumeration forms supplied and have excluded the population of Hill Tippera State which supplied or paid for everything. I have added also the amount recouped from municipalities, because it was an item of expense, though it did not fall on Government.

The figures in the margin are the actuals for Eastern Bengal and Assam and the

Eastern Bengal and Assam	Rs. 2,024,672	tare per mille up to 31st March 1912 was Rs 11.111.
Assam (1912-1913)	—	Rs. 1,403,000 5-13-2 and thereafter Rs. 1.8-1 making a total of Rs. 7-0-8 per thousand censused. The cost in 1901 was Rs. 11.111 in Assam and just under Rs. 8 in Bengal. It is probable that, making allowance for the rise in wages within the last ten years, the latter low figure is impossible at the present day. It was partly due also to the very large population (over 78 millions) included in Bengal at that time.

6. I doubt if the course of census operations, any more than that of true love,
 has ever yet run smoothly anywhere, but probably the
 our mishaps operations, put off the results of which are materialised in
 the present report, constitute a record. They began in April 1910 in the province of
 Eastern Bengal and Assam with the appointment of Mr. J. Donald, I.C.S., as Pro-
 vincial Superintendent in November 1910. Mr. Donald was compelled to take leave,
 when he had brought the arrangements for the actual enumeration practically to a
 conclusion and I was appointed to act temporarily in his place. Unfortunately
 he was unable to return to duty in time and I continued the work in Eastern Bengal
 and Assam until 31st March 1912. From 1st April my duty was confined to Assam
 alone, while the work in connection with Eastern Bengal was undertaken by Mr.
 L. S. S. O'Malley, I.C.S., Superintendent of Census Operations in Bengal, who
 retained charge also of the new province of Bihar and Orissa. Those who have
 any idea of the labour of compiling statistics will perhaps appreciate the labour
 incurred in, firstly, preparing complete tables in manuscript for every census back
 to 1872 for the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam and, secondly, after nearly
 half the tables of that province for 1911 were actually set up in type at Dacca,
 of removing the figures for Assam, substituting those of the two Bengal divisions
 which were added to Eastern Bengal to form the new Presidency, and striking new
 totals in every case. The present Bengal tables were printed at Dacca under the
 supervision of Rai Bahadur Jamini Mohan Das, my senior Deputy Superintendent.
 The actual work of compiling separate tables for the present census of Assam began
 in February 1912 and was practically completed in manuscript at Dacca by the end
 of April, when a separate staff was transferred to Shillong to work directly under me.
 I was appointed Director of Land Records and Agriculture in Assam from 1st April
 1912, and, as I was able to complete only two chapters of the present report before that
 date, the rest of it has been written during such time as I was able to spare from my
 other duties, of the routine portion of which I was relieved for six weeks by the kindness
 of Mr. A. W. Botham, I.C.S.

The printing misfortunes that dogged our footsteps at the beginning are described in the Administrative Report and need not be detailed here. It will suffice to say that the paper for schedule forms arrived at Dacca about three months behind its time, the printing contractor's arrangements broke down in the most hopeless fashion and I was compelled to arrange as late as January 1911 for the printing and cutting of the slips by the Dacca Jail Press. These accidents appear trifling now, but they were the cause of very serious difficulty and anxiety, because the time to make new arrangements was very short and the work large in quantity and difficult of execution. I hope that my successor will fare more easily.

7. Without the cordial assistance of the Deputy Commissioners a census would be impossible to each and all of them and to the Census Officers of each district I am indebted for their continued exertions from the beginning to the end in most districts their responsibilities continued up to the completion of slip-copying. In addition to the actual enumeration there were many ethnographical and other enquiries imposed upon them, their reports have made possible the inclusion of almost everything of a non-statistical nature in this volume. The reader will be able to appreciate how much is due especially to Lieutenant-Colonel J. Shakespeare, C.I.E., D.S.O., Political Agent in Manipur, to the Reverend Mr. Pettigrew of the same State, and to Lieutenant-Colonel H. Cole, I.A., late Superintendent, Lushai Hills. In addition I received a great deal of interesting information from Indian correspondents which has added considerably to what I have been able to write on the subjects connected with the caste system amongst them Babu Agornath Adhikari of Silohar and Mr. G. G. Phukan of Sibsagar deserve special mention. Lastly I come to the Deputy Superintendents, Rai Bahadur Jamini Mohan Das, Babu Atul Chandra Dutt, both at Dacca, Babu Abhaya Shankar Guha at Chittagong and Sriji Radhanath Phukan at Gauhati. These officers are mainly due the accuracy and expedition of the work of tabulation, which enabled us, in spite of our bad start, to receive the congratulations of the Census Commissioner on getting in our first table at the beginning of September 1911 before all the other large provinces except the Punjab. To Rai Bahadur Jamini Mohan Das, now Additional District Magistrate of Dacca, I owe more than I can explain. He was my guide, philosopher and friend at the beginning and loyal assistant to the end without him I doubt if the first and last census of Eastern Bengal and Assam would not have been a failure.

Acknowledgments

In conclusion, I have to thank Mr A. B. Smart of the Shillong Drawing Office for preparing the sketches from which all the blocks appearing in the letterpress were reproduced by Messrs Thacker Spink of Calcutta. Mr B. Hill, late Superintendent of the Dacca Government Press and now at Ranchi, for his care in selecting the type and the arrangement of the tables printed for Assam and for Bengal and to Mr H. H. King, Superintendent of the Assam Secretariat Press, who has been responsible for the printing of this report and who was handicapped by having to wait for the restoration of the Shillong Press by the return of type and men from Dacca.

Shillong

September 28th 1912.

J McSWINBY

Superintendent of Census Operations Assam.

REPORT ON THE CENSUS OF ASSAM, 1911.

CHAPTER I.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION.

(i) THE PROVINCE OF ASSAM

In the beginning of the nineteenth century the whole of Northern India, i.e., the area excluding the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras, formed the Presidency of Bengal, which was administered by a Governor in Council the Governor being also Governor General of India. The formation of subordinate entities of administration in this huge area began in 1836, when the territory now known as the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh was given a separate existence under a Lieutenant-Governor, and in 1851 the Governor General was relieved of the direct administration of Bengal by the appointment of a permanent Lieutenant-Governor. Twenty years later, in 1871, the latter's burden was found to be too heavy and the districts of the Brahmaputra Valley and the adjacent hills together with Cachar and Sylhet (in 1875) were constituted as the separate Province of Assam under a Chief Commissioner. In spite of this relief, grave difficulties were soon again experienced in the administration of the huge territory under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, but it was not until 1903 that the question was taken up in real earnest. The result of the deliberations which then took place was the decision to add to the small Province of Assam the eastern portion of its unwieldy neighbour and to consolidate these territories under a Lieutenant-Governor. The Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam as then constituted was again broken up on the 1st April, 1912, the Eastern Bengal districts were united with the Bengal Commissionerships of Burdwan and the Presidency to form the Presidency of Bengal under a Governor in-Council. Bihar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa were formed into a separate province, while the old Province of Assam was re-constituted under a Chief Commissioner. Though at the time of the census Assam thus formed a part of another province, it was decided that it should have a separate report for the purpose of future administrative requirements.

In view of the material available in the Imperial Gazetteer and elsewhere it is hardly necessary to enter extensively into historical or descriptive detail, but a brief account of the province and its administrative divisions will not be out of place as an introduction to the statistical chapters which follow.

The area administered by the Chief Commissioner of Assam covers a surveyed area of 61,471 square miles, which is 5,228 square miles in excess of that reported in 1901; the increase is almost entirely due to the correction of an error in the area of Manipur State, in British territory new surveys show an increase of only 56 square miles. In addition to the above area there is the unsurveyed country of the Eastern Angamis and Semas which was added to the Naga Hills since 1901; the present census shows that this tract contains nearly 40,000 people in 121 villages. The total population of the province is 7,059,857, of whom all but 346,222 persons in Manipur State were censused in British districts.

Assam owes its importance to its situation on the north-east frontier of India. It is surrounded by mountainous ranges on three sides on the north are the Himalayas shutting off the table-lands of Bhutan and Tibet, on the north-east is a series of hills which form a barrier between the upper Brahmaputra valley and the more or less independent Mongolian tribes who live west of the boundary of China, on the east and south lie the hills which march with those forming the limits of the Province of Burma and the State of Hill Tippera. On the west lies the Province of Bengal on to

the huge plains of which debouch the two valleys of the Brahmaputra and the Surma which form the plains of Assam. These two valleys are separated from each other by the Assam range, which projects westward from the hills on the eastern border. The physical features of the province are full of variety. The valley of the Brahmaputra on the north is an alluvial plain about 40 miles in length and 50 miles in average breadth, so that one never loses sight of the hills on either side of the two districts of the Surma valley. Cachar forms the eastern angle and contains one subdivision in the hills, while Sylhet is so wide and flat that except in the extreme north and south the appearance of the country recalls the plains of Bengal. Mongolian influences are present everywhere, except in the greater part of Sylhet. Throughout the plains communication was and is still to a great extent, mainly by water in the rains, when the flooded Brahmaputra and Surma rise and cover the low lands. Hindus are twice as numerous as Muhammadans, who are mostly found in the Surma valley and more than three times as numerous as Animists, of whom nearly a million and a quarter were censused, mainly in the hills and the Brahmaputra valley. In language there is perhaps more diversity on the eastern frontier than exists in any other part of India, and the Kharts possess a tongue the nearest affinities of which are as far distant as Cambodia and Annam. The discovery that the tea plant was indigenous in both valleys has led to the exploitation of their waste areas by European capital, and it has been truly said that Dibrugarh at the upper end of the Brahmaputra valley is more like a colony than India in its large European population and the extent of their industrial enterprise.

2. In the north the dominance of the Brahmaputra dwarfs everything else for the traveller in the rains, to whose mind the country seems to consist of the huge river bounded mostly by jungle near at

hand and in the far distance by the hills. It is fed by many tributaries, of which those on the north are the larger, swifter and more numerous owing to the greater height of their watershed. In the southern valley the Surma is the name given to the northern branch of the main river which in Cachar is known as the Barak; the southern branch runs through the centre of Sylhet where it is known as the Kusura. It is fed by numerous tributaries on both sides which are most useful for navigation. In the rains the west of the valley is practically one sheet of water and its appearance approximates to that of eastern Bengal.

3 The soil of the plains is alluvial, that of the Brahmaputra valley being generally of a sandy character while that of the Surma valley is mostly clay. The rainfall is abundant and it is rarely that there is any danger of drought. In the Surma valley the annual average varies from about 150 to 120 inches and culminates in a mean of 460 inches at Oberapunjil in the northern hills; the two ends of the Brahmaputra valley receive about 100 inches per year while in the centre the rainfall drops to an average of 75 and at Lunka in a recess on the Kopili it is as low as 43 inches. The mean temperature ranges from 84° in July to 60° in January in the plains, while the thermometer seldom rises above 80° in the hills.

The soil in the Brahmaputra valley being of a more or less sandy character is not so fertile as that of the Surma valley. The rivers of the former have swifter currents owing to the elevation of the country and deposit coarse sand within the valley retaining the clay until the current is slowed down in the plains of Bengal. The level of the Surma valley is so low that the course of the rivers is more sluggish and hence ensures a deposit of more fertilising silt. On the other hand, there are vast areas of waste in the Brahmaputra valley and it cannot be said that the country is anything but very fertile especially as rainfall is more important than soil for rice which is the main crop. Taking the province as a whole 7½ per cent. of the cropped area is under rice, almost 6 per cent. is under tea, and 5½ per cent. under oil-seeds; the remaining crops are not of much importance.

4 The province contains no large towns and is essentially agricultural in character. Tea, coal, oil and limestone-quarrying constitute the main industries. The area included in tea estates amounted in 1910 to 1,820 square miles, of which 547 square miles were actually planted and the year's crop yielded over 175,000,000 pounds of manufactured tea. The coal mines, which are situated in the north-east of the Brahmaputra valley gave a total output of over 800,000 tons of coal in 1909-10; the oil wells in the same tract produced nearly 3,300,000 gallons of mineral oil; of limestone practically 90,000 tons were quarried, mostly in the Khad Hills. Silk worms are reared in the Brahmaputra valley and a small proportion of the silk is exported as cloth.

5 The province is divided into two Commissionerships, that of the Assam Valley, which includes the Garo Hills, and that of Surma Valley and Hill Districts which includes rest of the hills exclusive of the State of Manipur. The population of the former is nearly three and a half millions and that of the latter over three and a quarter millions. The units of administration are the districts, of which there are 12, excluding Sylhet which has a population of nearly two and a half millions, the average plains district contains somewhat more than half a million persons, while the average population of a hill district is slightly over a quarter of a million the average area of each district is about 4,500 square miles

6 The province readily falls into three homogeneous divisions—the Brahmaputra Valley, the Surma Valley and the Hills. In the **Census divisions** Imperial Tables the districts are shown in their respective Commissionerships, but in the Subsidiary Tables in the body of this report they are arranged according to the natural divisions mentioned above. In the third natural division, that of the Hills, are included the North Cachar subdivision of Cachar and the State of Manipur the inclusion of the latter is the only difference between the scheme adopted in 1901 and that adopted now.

7 The Brahmaputra or the Assam Valley lies between the Himalayas on the north and the Assam Range on the east and south, and on the west opens on to northern Bengal. Mongolian influences are predominant a succession of invading hordes from the north-east made the plain of the Brahmaputra their own and were able to defeat the attempts of the Muhammadan invaders from Bengal to gain a footing in the valley. Two-thirds of the people are now Hindus, but large numbers of them are comparatively new converts from non-Hindu tribes who are rapidly being absorbed by the all-embracing proselytism of the Vaishnava Gossains in the east of the valley, but still over one-sixth of the population cling to primitive nature worship. Muhammadans number a little more than one-tenth of the people. On the north and south below the hills the country is generally covered with jungle by the ever-shifting banks of the mighty river, which in the rains extends to five or six miles in breadth, precarious crops are snatched before the floods sweep down. It is in the central tract between the jungle and the river that population is mainly found generally the tea gardens are near the hills and below them lie the villages. The tea gardens depend for their labour almost entirely on importation from Chota-Nagpur, the Central Provinces and Madras and their time-expired coolies form the most important factor in the colonisation of the valley. The devastation caused by the Burmese in the early years of the nineteenth century threw back into jungle large tracts of cultivation. The people now styled Assamese, in addition to an unenterprising character which is due to their enervating climate and the security of their crops, received a serious reverse from the severe epidemic known as kala-azar, which has now practically disappeared. The valley cries out for people to fill up its waste areas, and though the progress of colonisation is hopeful, it will take many years to remove the void. Of the cropped area 67 per cent is under rice, 8 per cent under tea and 2 per cent under jute, while oil-seeds cover 8 per cent. It is in the upper districts that tea is mainly grown, and in them the percentage under that crop varies from 14 per cent in Darrang to over 26 per cent in Lakhimpur. The cultivation of jute is practically confined to Goalpara at the mouth of the valley, where it covers over 6 per cent of the area cropped. Communication is partly by land, but mainly by the Brahmaputra, in spite of the extension of the Assam-Bengal Railway along the south of the valley the numerous rivers which flow from the hills on both sides to the Brahmaputra are on the whole not very useful for navigation owing to the swiftness of their currents.

8 The Surma Valley, bounded on the north by the Assam Range and on the south by the northern spurs of the Lushai Hills and Hill Tipperra, is shut in on the east by the hills of Manipur on the west is its mouth, where the wide and water-covered plain of Sylhet marches with the Bengal district of Mymensingh. The plains portion of Cachar and the whole of Sylhet make up the valley. The west of Sylhet is very similar to eastern Bengal, but the district is distinguished as a whole by its large production of tea and the comparative unimportance of the jute crop tea is grown in the numerous valleys in the south of the district and covers nearly 3 per cent of the area under cultivation. Cachar is a comparatively new district, the plains portion has been opened up by tea planters and by immigrants from the more populous parts of Sylhet. Taking the valley as a whole, over 80 per cent of the cropped area is under rice, 13 per cent

under jute, and 4.30 per cent. under tea. In Cachar tea takes up nearly 17 per cent. of the cultivation. More than half the people are Muhammadans, mostly of the same sturdy semi-amphibious land that are found in eastern Bengal. In the south of Sylhet and in Cachar there are large settlements of Manipuri, which were originally started by refugees from that State during its war with Burma. The tea gardens employ large numbers of coolies imported from the United Provinces, Bengal and the Central Provinces. The Assam Bengal Railway skirts the foot of the hills on the south and east, but in the rains the vast water ways of the two districts are the main means of communication.

9 The rest of the province consists of ranges of hills. Starting on the west of the Assam Range we have in succession the Garo Hills and the Khasi and Jaintia Hills which are joined by

North Cachar to the Naga Hills on the north-east and to Manipur on the south-east; south west of Manipur are the Lushai Hills. The general outline of this mass of elevated country is that of the letter T with a top line running from north-east to south-west and a support running from west to east. The general type of the people is Mongolian, but there are so many different tribes and languages that it would be hard to point to any other bond of connection. Generally the country is covered with tree jungle, especially on the lower slopes. The average elevation is 4,000 feet, but some peaks rise to 7,000, and Japvo in the Naga Hills is nearly 10,000 feet in height. Over two-thirds of the population are Animists and about one-fourth are Hindus so-called, four-fifths of whom were census in the State of Manipur over four per cent. are Christians who constitute more than one-eighth of the people of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. Accuracy in crop statistics cannot be expected, but so far as they go, they show that over 87 per cent. of the cultivation is under rice, a good deal of rough cotton exported from the Garo Hills, and potatoes are grown extensively in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. Except in the latter district and in a part of the Naga Hills land is cultivated usually in the most primitive fashion a clearing being made in the jungle by fire and a number of different crops being sown together in holes dug beneath the ashes and harvested as they mature.

() AREA, POPULATION AND DENSITY

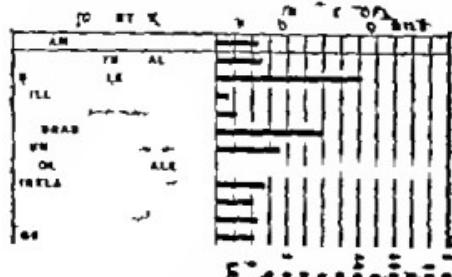
10 Imperial Table I shows the area of each district and its population, urban and rural by sex, together with the number of towns, villages and occupied houses. Similar statistics for

statistical tables subordinate divisions of each district will be found in Provincial Table I, which is printed at the end of the Imperial tables and which also shows the variations of population in those smaller areas since 1891, wherever figures are available. Attached to this chapter are six subsidiary tables showing (1) density, water-supply and crops (2) distribution of the population classified according to density (3) distribution of the population between towns and villages, (4) the number per mile of the total

population and of each main religion who live in towns, (5) towns classified by population, and (6) the number of persons per house and of homes per square mile. The area and popula-

tion of the three natural divisions are shown in the margin.

11 Owing to the great areas of waste and rivers the density of the province is



only 115. The greatest pressure of population is in the Surma Valley which supports 400 persons to the square mile, while the Brahmaputra Valley supports 120 and the Hills only 31. Compared with the density of most other parts of India that of Assam is a low, but it is more than double that of Burma. The diagram on the margin shows how Assam stands in relation to other provinces and countries. This is not the place to consider the extent of variations in the population, but it may be stated that

there are now 6 or 7 allowances to be made for subsequent corrections in area, 15 persons

more to the square mile in the province than there were in 1901, the number having increased in the Surma Valley by 53 and in the Brahmaputra Valley by 18. These are encouraging figures and show that progress is being made.

Subsidiary Table II shows some remarkable contrasts. One-third of the total density of population in Assam is scattered over an area which is equivalent to three-fourths of the area of the province and contains less than 150 persons to the square mile, one-quarter of the people live in a twelfth part of the provincial area,

where the density is between 300 and 450, while only 13 per cent of the total area has a density of between 600 and 750 and contains 71 per cent of the total population.

12 In the Brahmaputra Valley

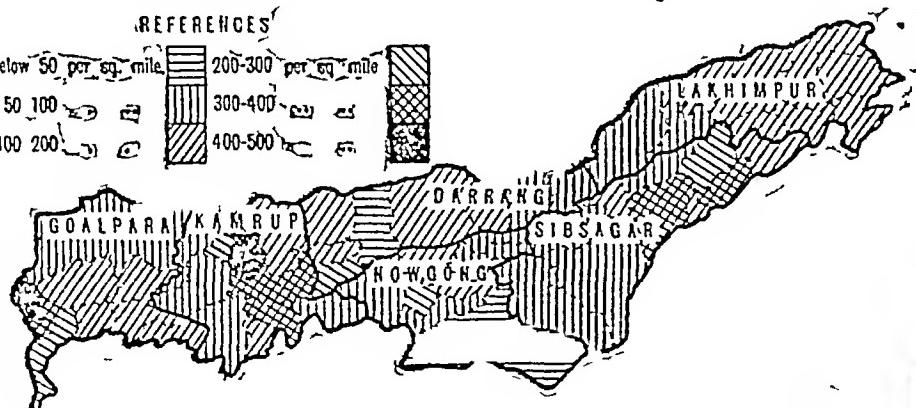
In the Brahmaputra Valley the highest district density is in Kamrup where there are 173 persons to the square mile, next follows Goalpara with 152, then Sibsagar with 138, Darrang with 110, Lakhimpur with 104 and Nowongong a bad last with only 79. The most interesting point about these district statistics is that Goalpara has gone above Sibsagar in the order of density since 1901 but otherwise there is no change.

A glance at the map of the Valley in the margin will show that density is greatest at its western end where it opens on to Bengal: Sibsagar near the other end is a centre of population and would hold a much higher

THE BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY—DENSITY OF THANAS

REFERENCES

Below 50 per sq. mile	200-300 per sq. mile
50-100	300-400
100-200	400-500



place if it did not include large areas of waste in the south-west which were taken from the Naga Hills before the last census. From Sibsagar as a centre we may imagine two radii of decreasing density running northwards to Darrang and Lakhimpur, while in the centre of the valley we have the lowest density in Nowongong, which is also affected by large additions of waste originally in the Naga Hills. This distribution of population is mainly due to historical causes which were described in paragraph 11 of the last Census Report briefly they are the results of the Mraumari rebellion and the Burmese invasion at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the surviving population was driven westwards, when the country was taken over the development of the tea industry attracted population to the upper districts of the valley, while the last decade has witnessed the settlement of a large number of immigrants from the neighbouring districts of Bengal in the riverine area of Goalpara. Taking the districts in order from the west we find that in Goalpara population is densest in the south-west of Dhubri subdivision in the neighbourhood of the

Brahmaputra and the Bengal border the density of the whole subdivision being 255 against 145 in the more sparsely populated subdivision of Golpur, the north of the district contains a very large area of reserved forest. Kamrup is divided in two by the Brahmaputra, the greater portion being on the north bank. In Gauhati subdivision there are now 227 persons to the square mile and only 114 in Barpeta which is water logged on the south and contains a great deal of waste in the north. Population is more concentrated on the north bank of the river in Gauhati subdivision, where Nalbari thana is first with a density of 496 two of its mauzas containing over 800 persons to the square mile radiating from Nalbari population remains fairly dense towards the south-east and south and across the Brahmaputra to Palashbari thana, while on the north-west Bojali thana is fairly well populated. The only other thanas with a density over 100 are Langia thana on the east of Nalbari and Chaygaon on the west of Palashbari. In the west of the district population is sparse and in the east on the south bank the surrounding hills permit of a density of only 94 in Gauhati thana. In Darrang the progressive subdivision of Tezpur is still less thickly populated than decadent Mangaldai. Mangaldai thana is first with 216 persons to the square mile, followed by Kaligaon and Panery the density of Tezpur thana is only 117 and that of Sootea only 101. Population is concentrated in the west of the district in the centre and east they are large areas of waste in the middle of which Tezpur and Sootea thanas form cores of population which even there is distinctly sparse. Nowgong is exposed to heavy floods on the north and is shut in on the south by a line of hills broken only by the Kopili valley which is mostly waste. Population follows the course of the Kullang and is densest in Raha thana, where there are 291 people to the square mile. Nowgong thana contains 165 and Samaguri which lies between the two only 98. Of the three subdivisions of the Sibsagar district Jorhat has a density of 247 Sibsagar of 280, while Golaghat, partly owing to the large area of waste taken from the Aaga Hill, is last with only 63. As thana areas are mostly not available in Golaghat, we must confine ourselves to the other two subdivisions. The highest density 331 is in Bortola thana south of Sibsagar population is fairly thick all through a block extending from westwards from Sonari thana to the Golaghat boundary it is only in the island of the Majuli, where the density is 94 that the population of Jorhat is sparse. In Jorhat thana there are 349 persons to the square mile. It is regrettable that the areas of thanas in Lakhimpur are not available in the Sadr subdivision, where there are 149 persons to the square mile, the greatest density is in the neighbourhood of Dilrugari town, that of a few of the mauzas being over 800 the average density of North Lakhimpur is only 85.

13. In the Surma Valley the Cachar plains have a density of 23, that of Hailakandi subdivision being 317 and that of Silchar 203, but this includes quite a large area of outlying spurs of North Cachar hatogora thana on the north of the Barak supporting only 78 persons to the square mile. In Sylhet the highest average density is in Habiganj on the Bengal border where it is 604 next comes North Sylhet with 506, followed by South Sylhet with 475, Karimganj with 431 and Sunamganj on the north west with 383. Balaganj thana in the centre of the district contains 706 persons to the square mile the four thanas of Habiganj

SURMA VALLEY DENSITY OF THANAS



subdivision are thickly populated, the density varying from 696 in Madhabpur to 516 in Raniyachang the only other thana with over 800 is Jaldhubi in Karimganj; two thanas of Sunamganj, Dharmapara and Sunamganj fall below 800. The extensive flooding of Sunamganj is a barrier to progress in population.

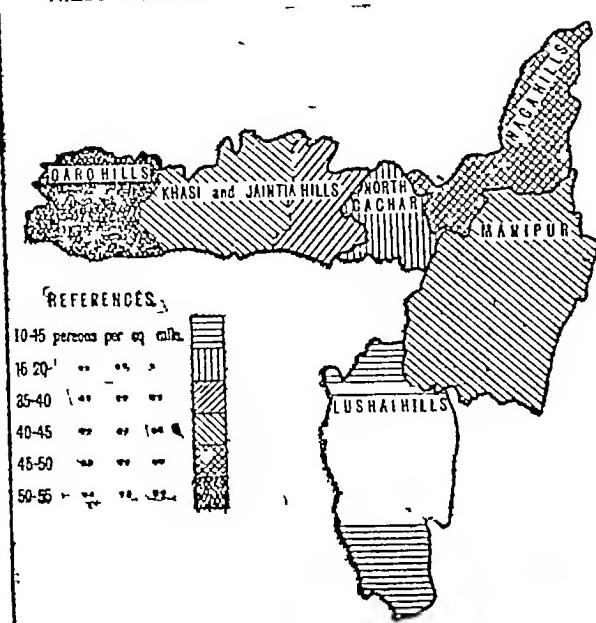
14 In the Hills the Garo Hills is first with a density of 51, but this includes the population of two mauzas in the plains. The Naga Hills is apparently next with 49, but this is based on the old area which is not now correct. Manipur has an average of 41, the Khasi and Jaintia Hills 39, North Cachar 16 and the Lushai Hills only 13. It is possible to show subdivisions only in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and Lushai Hills, in the former Shillong contains 40 and Jowai 37 persons to the square mile in the latter the corresponding figures are 14 for Aijal and 10 for Lungleb.

15 It will appear from the above that one factor influencing density of the main causes affecting

density in the province is its past history. If we confine ourselves to a consideration of the plains for the present, we find that though the Brahmaputra Valley was taken over in 1826, it was not until 1838 that the upper districts were actually

placed under direct British administration, and that the Cachar plains in the Surma Valley was formally annexed only in 1832, the hills of the district remaining under a feudatory until 1850. Previously to the annexation of these districts, the people had gone through a series of civil wars and invasions from without, so that the country was exceedingly thinly inhabited when British administration began to give peace and security to its inhabitants. Apart from the natural tendency for population to grow under the new conditions, the discovery of the fact that tea was indigenous to the Brahmaputra Valley as early as 1821 led to the opening of the first tea garden in Lakhimpur in 1835, it took twenty years to discover the wild plant in Cachar, where its cultivation began in 1856, and led in the next year to its extension to Sylhet, where the valleys between the northern spurs of the Lushai Hills and Hill Tippera are very similar to those of Cachar. The growth of the industry was slow in the beginning, the indigenous population were and are averse from working for hire as long as they have abundance of waste land to cultivate and labour had to be imported from outside the province, the competition of China, which had hitherto the monopoly of the trade, had to be met and to be overcome by improved methods of manufacture, and the demand for tea in the world's markets had to be fostered to ensure the large extension of the industry which is a fact of to-day. The province lay on the north-east frontier cut off from all communication with the outside world except by river, it once took six weeks to travel by boat from Kushtia on the Ganges to Dibrugarh, and it was not until the early seventies that a daily steamer travelled up the Brahmaputra, the Assam-Bengal Railway was not declared open as far as Silehri in the Surma Valley until 1899 and as far as Dibrugarh in the Brahmaputra Valley until 1903. The tea industry itself, while being a blessing in that it not alone annually imports large numbers of coolies who usually settle in the province, but also helps the indigenous inhabitants by the demand of its labourers for food, brings with it two drawbacks which retard the growth of population. In the first place the penal clauses of the coolie laws and the evils which attend recruitment have given Assam a bad reputation outside and people are averse from coming to the province unless they are reduced to almost desperate need. The opening of new railways and the abolition in the near future of the penal enactments will remove this undeserved prejudice. Secondly, the land revenue system does not admit of a revenue-free period for settlers on new land. This is due to the obvious danger of emptying tea gardens of their labour force and bringing the industry to ruin so that the new colonist starts with the imposition of rent from the day he takes possession of his land. In addition to all this the unhealthiness of the province before it began to be opened out must not be

HILLS - DENSITY



forgotten waste territory is not put under the plough without a considerable loss of life amongst the first settlers who, apart from the general unhealthiness of tracts under jungle, have to meet with new conditions of climate and strange food.

16. The above remarks will explain why the province is still sparsely populated in the plains, though its progress is most hopeful. To turn now to particular localities we see that in the Brahmaputra Valley Nowrang is till the lowest in density, this is in part due to the inclusion of large areas of waste in the Koirali Valley which was practically an unknown land until the Assam-Bengal Railway was built through it, and partly to the decimation of the people by the scourge of kala-azar which took off nearly a quarter of its inhabitants between 1891 and 1901. The course of this epidemic through the western districts of the Brahmaputra Valley has been described in paragraph 41 of the last Census Report and need not be repeated. It will be sufficient here to say that kala-azar and the earthquake of 1897 were responsible at the last census for large decreases in all the districts of the valley except Lakhimpur and Sibsagar. We have to take it as a fact that as the result of the Burmese invasion the people who survived were found settled in two large and widely separated tracts, i.e. (1) in north Kamrup south of the submontane Kachari country and in the south west of Darrang and (2) in Jorhat and the west of Sibsagar subdivision. Probably the fact that there was an Ahom Governor at Gauhati and that Sibsagar and Jorhat saw the last courts of the Ahom Kings is a partial explanation of this fact. At any rate it was in these tracts that the people were more free from harassment by marauders from the hills than elsewhere. The population of Goalpara could never have been large and the district is only now being slowly opened by settlers from Mymensingh and the neighbouring districts. Darrang Sibsagar and Lakhimpur owe their present population to a great extent to the tea industry. In the Surma Valley the history of Cachar naturally points to the fact that it was thinly populated at the time of annexation. It has since been developed by the opening of tea gardens and the overflow from its neighbour Sylhet. In the latter district the west and north are exposed to heavy floods, the subdivisions of Karimganj and South Sylhet were too near the hills and Cachar to be inviting places of residence in the old days on account of fear of depredations hence we find the greatest density in the centre and south west of the district, where people could live in comparative peace and find good land. In the hills it is only natural to expect a small population most of the people have still very rudimentary ideas of agriculture and are not very long removed from the time when head hunting was considered the proper occupation of a man.

In the above short review I have not considered many factors affecting variations in density such as fertility of the soil, irrigation and rainfall. In Assam rainfall is abundant everywhere and generally not destructive in its excess. Irrigation is mostly unnecessary and is confined to submontane areas, where the slope of the ground is too steep to retain sufficient water for the rice crop without the aid of small channels. In the plains it may be said that the soil is fertile everywhere and rice is the main crop. When the province bears the population that it ought to have and presumably will have some day the effect of these factors will deserve detailed consideration.

(ii) TOWNS AND VILLAGES.

17. The towns of the province consist of urban areas with some sort of municipal government—such as municipalities, unions or stations—

Definition and number of towns.

cantonments, and certain selected areas of an urban character which are not administered under any municipal law. Under this definition there are in all 21 towns in the province, of which all but five have a local administration and all but one are in British territory. Excluding the conglomeration of villages of Imphal, which is the capital of Manipur State, there is not a single town which contains 20,000 inhabitants and there are only five with a population of over 10,000. Imperial Tables IV and V show the variations in population and the religions of these towns, while Imperial Table III shows them classified by population. Subsidiary Tables III, IV, V of this chapter described above in paragraph 10 are also concerned with towns.

18. The province is essentially of a non urban character taking it as a whole only

Distribution of population between towns and villages.

30 persons out of 1,000 live in towns, the number being 21 in the Brahmaputra Valley and 15 in the Surma Valley in the Hills, if we include Imphal, there are no less than 90 per mille living in towns, but Imphal is not really an urban area, and its exclusion

brings down the proportion to 25 of whom 21 were censused in Shillong, the headquarters of the province. The average population of the towns is 10,063 and that of villages is 233. The highest urban average is found in the Hills where the figures are unduly swollen by the inclusion of Imphal. In the Brahmaputra Valley the population of the normal town is under 7,000 and in the Surma Valley it is 6,350.

19 Taking the province as a whole out of every 1,000 adherents of each of the

Religions and sexes in towns main religions, there are 41 Hindus, 21 Muhammadans, 52

Christians and 265 Jains living in towns the last named

are all foreign traders. The largest proportion of Hindu inhabitants of towns is found in the Hills, where the great mass of the population are Animists. Curiously enough the towns of the Brahmaputra Valley contain a larger number per mille of Muhammadans than the Surma Valley. This is due in great measure to the fact that most of the shops are owned by Muhammadans from eastern Bengal and that in Upper Assam the later Ahom Kings attracted to their courts considerable numbers of Muhammadan artisans.

For every 1,000 males there are 763 females in the towns of the whole province but in British territory, where the more strictly urban population is found, this number is reduced to 636. Generally speaking, the fact that a town is a centre of trade or the headquarters of some administrative division connotes a temporary population of males who leave their wives at home. In Barpeta there is an actual excess of females, as was the case in 1901; this circumstance points to the fact that this town is little more than a large collection of houses without any great trade or industry. In Subsidiary Table V is given the number of females per 1,000 males in towns classified according to size, the large proportion, 1,051, in towns with a population of 50,000 to 100,000, refers to Imphal, which is the only town of that size in the province.

20. Subsidiary Table V shows towns divided into six classes according to their population in 1911 and gives the variations in the popula-

Towns classified by size tion at each census period of towns as classed at the previous census. Excluding Class II, which contains Imphal only, we find that since 1901 towns with a population of 10,000—20,000 have increased by 12.83 per cent, towns with 5,000—10,000 inhabitants by 13.27 per cent and towns with less than 5,000 by 24.81 per cent. Areas that were classed as towns in 1872 have now increased in population by 1.14 per cent, but there has been an increase in actual urban population of 528.62 per cent since that time. None of the towns that now contain less than 5,000 inhabitants were treated as towns in 1872. Of the total urban population out of every 100 persons 31 are inhabitants of towns with population of 10 to 20 thousand, and 26 of towns with population 20 to 50 thousand. Similar statistics of the urban population by districts and natural divisions will be found in Subsidiary Table III.

21 In considering the recent growth of towns it will be most convenient to divide them according to natural divisions. In the Brahmaputra

Recent growth of towns Valley there are over 10,000 inhabitants in Dibrugarh, Gauhati and Barpeta only. Dibrugarh, which is the headquarters of the most important tea district in the province, has more than doubled its population since 1881 and has increased by nearly 30 per cent since the last census. Gauhati, which showed decreases in 1891 and 1901 owing to the exclusion from the municipality of North Gauhati, which is on the other side of the river, is now larger than the combined town of 1881. Barpeta, the head centre of the Mahapurushas, has increased by nearly 23 per cent and is now larger than it has been since 1881, the effects of the earthquake of 1897 have apparently disappeared. Of the small towns, Dhubri shows an increase of over 55 per cent and now contains more than double the number of people it had in 1881. The most remarkable increase is in Jorhat, which is 80 per cent larger than in 1901; this increase is mainly due to its enlargement, preparatory to the transfer thither of the headquarters of the Sibsagar district. Goalpara and Golaghat alone show small decreases. Only one of the seven towns of the Surma Valley, i.e., Sylhet, is of any size. In spite of its still being cut off from the main lines of communication, it now contains a population greater than at any time since 1881, and its previous decline seems to have been arrested, with the probable extension of the railway there is a likelihood of further increase in the future. Silchar shows an apparent decrease in comparison with 1901, but this is due to the abolition of the cantonment, which contained nearly 800 people in that year. Hailakandi is a small town now so treated for the first time. Of the other towns Maulvi Bazar alone shows a decrease, which has been steady since 1891. Shillong, the capital of the province, has had its area extended and the presence at the time of the census of the headquarters offices of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam

further added the increase of over 41 per cent. since the last census. Kohima shows a small decrease on account of the reduction of the military strength in the cantonment. Imphal the capital of Manipur has increased by three per cent. as was pointed out in 1901, Imphal is really a collection of villages centred round the palace of the Raja and possesses neither municipal administration nor any of the amenities of town life other than what is gained by concentration of population in it.

Definition and number of villages defined as—

"A Ghat or Grim together with its adjacent T. Hs., P. Hs., D. Hs., Sahas and Makillas, provided that none of its dependent collection of houses were so large or so distant from the central village as to form in themselves true villages with a distinct individual name."

In the five upper districts of the Brahmaputra Valley and in the district of Cachar where there has been a cadastral survey the cadastral village was taken as the census village. In Goalpara and in Sylhet there is no connection between residential villages and revenue units, save that special care was taken to keep intact the boundaries of the latter. In the hill districts a village was generally a collection of houses bearing a separate name.

According to our present figures there are 97,875 villages in the province against a total of 22,390 in 1901. The increase in the number of villages is notable in Goalpara, Nowrang Lakhimpur, Sylhet, Naga Hills, Lushai Hills, Garo Hills and Manipur. In the plains districts the increase is due to the growth of population and in Sylhet also to more accurate methods of work at this census. In the Naga Hills, in addition to natural growth an area formerly under political control has been added to the district. In the Lushai Hills the increase is attributed to the absence of inter tribal warfare and hence of the necessity for bigger villages with a view to self protection. In Manipur the very large increase in the number of villages is due to the fact that the village as demarcated in the recent revenue survey of the valley of Manipur was taken as the census village.

Character of village sites and size of houses

23 As has been explained in previous Census Reports, the village in the plains of the province is of an indeterminate character. Generally speaking in the populous tracts one sees scattered through the rice fields small collections of houses too petty to be called hamlets usually surrounded by groves of bamboo and fruit trees. In the flooded tracts and in the submontane area in the north of the Brahmaputra Valley the house sites usually present a bare appearance, which is also a marked feature of new settlements. In the hills villages are usually found near the top of the ridge.

Taking the figures as they stand it appears that the average village of the province contains 233 persons, that of the Brahmaputra Valley having 280, that of the Barma Valley 244 and that of the Hill, 138. The smallest villages in the province are found in the Garo Hills and North Cachar where the average population is under 100 and in the Khasi Hills, where it is just over 100. In the hills generally it is more convenient for the people to live in small scattered villages because they thus avoid the necessity of migrating due to difficulties connected with cultivation. Their primitive methods of agriculture necessitate frequent changes in the ~~area~~ of land cleared by fire for sowing the crops, so that when they are compelled to live in large villages in order to protect themselves against their neighbours, they have to move the whole village site as soon as the area available for crops within a radius of about five miles has been ~~cleared~~. Hence the smaller the villages are the longer have the people lived without internal warfare, an inference which is borne out by our figures, which represent real villages in most of the hills. In Subsidiary Table III more than half the people are shown as living in villages with a population below 500 in every part of the province, but the statistics are not worth much in the plains districts. Subsidiary Table VI shows that the number of houses per square mile is highest in the Barma Valley where it is 91 the figures for the Brahmaputra Valley and the Hills being 27 and 7 respectively. These statistics supply cumulative evidence of the general sparseness of population.

(*) HOUSES AND FAMILIES

24 The homestead in the plains usually consists of a three separate thatched rooms built round a courtyard, with an outhouse for cattle and agricultural implements; the walls are generally of reeds or bamboo plastered over with mud. Brick houses are practically non-existent outside some of the towns and would hardly be safe in a region so liable to earthquakes.

as Assam. To the flimsiness of the building materials is perhaps due the good fortune of the province in being practically immune from plague. In the hills each household is usually under one roof and the houses are often supported partly on piles as they project from the slope of the hill.

The definition of a house adopted for census purposes was practically that used at the last two censuses. A house was described—

As consisting of the buildings, one or many, inhabited by one family, that is by a number of persons living and eating together in one mass, with their resident dependents, such as mother, widowed sisters, younger brothers, etc., and their servants who reside in the house. In other words, this unit is the communal family, known in some districts as the khana, and not the homestead or enclosure.

The main value of this definition was that it was easily understood everywhere and required very little explanation to the enumerators. There were some exceptions to the standard definition, but there were few in number and were as follows—

- (i) In the case of Europeans and Anglo-Indians the whole building actually occupied by them was taken as one house.
- (ii) In Police lines, jails, dispensaries, lunatic asylums, etc., special arrangements were made.
- (iii) In coolie lines each separate door-way was treated as marking a separate house.

The average number of persons per house in the whole province is 5, as it was at the last two censuses. Subsidiary Table VI gives the details for districts, which show that there is very little variation. The figures for 1881 are in many cases discrepant with those of the following censuses, this is due to the change of definition in 1891. As was noted in the last Census Report, there is no possibility of over crowding and a discussion of the question is unnecessary.

25 The existence of the joint family system in India tends to complicate the statistics based on the number of houses as defined for

The Joint family

census purposes. A house does not necessarily imply the

existence of one married woman and her husband and family; there are probably also sons with their wives and widows of the husband's brothers or of his sons, together with their children. In Assam it would appear from enquiries that the joint family is more

prevvalent amongst Hindus than amongst Muhammadans, in the Surma Valley than in that of the Brahmaputra, and among the well-to-do classes than among their less fortunate neighbours. The statement in the margin shows the number of houses per 100 married females aged 15 and over in different parts of the province. The general result

would appear to be that separate houses are set up by sons on marriage all over the province and that the large excess of houses in the Surma Valley is due to the large proportion of Muhammadans in the population, as is explained below.

As far as my enquiries go, it would appear that the joint family amongst Hindus generally breaks up after the death of the father on the occurrence of a dispute. Wives of brothers seem to be the usual cause of quarrels, which arise in some cases from mere jealousy over presents of ornaments, but more often the wife of the brother who is the best earner wants generally more comfort for herself and her children. The spread of European ideas tends to give rise to feelings of resentment against the lazy or non-earning members of the family, and those who leave the village in search of employment are hardly more eager to separate from the drones than those who stay at home and are energetic. Amongst Muhammadans the sons on marriage usually live in separate houses and eat apart from the rest of their family, but the land usually remains joint until there is a dispute. The poorer classes separate readily on marriage because they have little to keep them together, so that the size of household, regarded as the joint family, usually depends on the material condition of the people.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.
Density water-supply ad crops

District and national division.	Area sq. miles (in 1911)	Percentage of total area.		Percentage of cultivable area.		Percentage of gross cultivable area not in crop.		Percentage of gross cultivable area under Kerosene.		Percentage of gross cultivable area under Other fuel.		Percentage of gross cultivable area under Oil.		Percentage of gross cultivable area under Gas.		Percentage of gross cultivable area under All other crops.	
		Cultivable	Not culti- vated	Double crop	Single crop	Double crop	Single crop	Kerosene	Oil	Other fuel	Gas	Oil	Gas	All other crops	Total	Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
ASSAM	—	113	76	38	31	3	12	136	74	22	15	11	9	343	343		
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	—	136	93	45	39	2	10	108	70	18	22	20	16	376	376		
Goalpara	—	121	83	42	36	2	8	94	62	15	22	20	16	321	321		
Kamrup	—	123	83	42	36	2	8	93	62	15	22	20	16	323	323		
Darrang	—	119	73	35	30	2	5	111	70	14	22	20	16	319	319		
Nowrangpur	—	123	73	35	30	2	5	107	70	14	22	20	16	323	323		
Ramgarh	—	124	73	35	30	2	5	106	70	14	22	20	16	324	324		
Lakshimpur	—	124	73	35	30	2	5	105	70	14	22	20	16	324	324		
GURU VALLEY	—	400	72	30	26	0	0	397	67	0	22	12	4	472	472		
Cachar Plains*	—	223	72	30	26	0	0	220	67	0	22	12	4	275	275		
Bylhet	—	177	72	30	26	0	0	174	67	0	22	12	4	229	229		
HILL	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	391	
Garo Hills	—	31	22	9	8	0	0	28	0	+	+	+	+	38	38		
Khasi and Jaintia Hills*	—	21	22	9	8	0	0	20	0	+	+	+	+	27	27		
North Cachar	—	22	22	9	8	0	0	21	0	+	+	+	+	27	27		
Menglebar	—	22	22	9	8	0	0	21	0	+	+	+	+	27	27		
Loktak Lake	—	21	22	9	8	0	0	20	0	+	+	+	+	26	26		

* In the calculations for the provinces no hills and for national divisions those areas for which figures are not available have been left out of account.

The agricultural statistics of Cachar plains include North Cachar and Dangs of the Khasi Hills are for British villages only. Figures not available.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.
Distribution of the population classified according to density

District and national division.	Districts with population per square mile of										
	Under 100.		100-200.		200-400.		400-600.		600-800.		
	Area	Pop.	Area	Pop.	Area	Pop.	Area	Pop.	Area	Pop.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
ASSAM	40,801.41	1,203	40,214.02	1,077	10,977.00	1,371	13,987.02	1,390	13,987.02	1,390	
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	—	177	224	77	394	77	394	77	77	77	
Goalpara	—	177	413	77	394	77	394	77	77	77	
Kamrup	—	177	413	77	394	77	394	77	77	77	
Darrang	—	126	371	33	326	33	326	33	—	—	
Nowrangpur	—	126	371	33	326	33	326	33	—	—	
Ramgarh	—	126	371	33	326	33	326	33	—	—	
Lakshimpur	—	126	371	33	326	33	326	33	—	—	
GURU VALLEY	—	614.76	22	1,065.76	37	2,020.23	1,020	2,020.23	1,020	2,020.23	1,020
Cachar Plains	—	614.76	22	1,065.76	37	2,020.23	1,020	2,020.23	1,020	2,020.23	1,020
Bylhet	—	227	111	379	148	579	279	579	279	579	279
HILL	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Khasi and Jaintia Hills*	—	20	1,000	147	70	117	57	117	57	117	57

In the Hills the density everywhere is 1. i.e. 100 per square mile.

Note.—The figures in tables show the percentage which the area and population in each class bear to the total area and population of the district.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Distribution of the population between towns and villages

District and natural division	Average popn lation per		Number per mille residing in		Number per mille of urban population residing in towns with a population of				Number per mille of rural population residing in villages with a population of			
	Town.	Village	Towns	Villages	20,000 and over	10,000 to 20,000	5,000 to 10,000	Under 5,000	5,000 and over	2,000 to 5,000	500 to 2,000	Under 500
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
ASSAM ..	10,063	233	30	970	353	812	261	71	2	54	333	561
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	6,923	260	24	976	...	406	441	63	2	77	412	509
Goalpara ..	5,886	276	20	980	...	...	1,000	..	..	107	380	513
Kamrup ..	11,610	330	35	965	...	1,000	..	..	..	72	505	423
Darrang ..	5,355	265	14	986	...	..	1,000	..	..	23	360	617
Nowrang ..	5,433	200	18	982	..	..	1,000	..	..	23	406	571
Sibsagar ..	3,954	315	23	977	..	..	695	305	8	45	470	477
Lakhimpur	14,568	267	31	960	..	1,000	..	..	..	174	291	535
SURMA VALLEY ..	6,350	241	15	985	..	825	435	190	2	40	390	568
Cachar Plains ..	5,123	418	22	973	..	..	857	143	..	15	611	374
Sylhet ..	6,810	226	14	986	..	423	373	204	2	45	349	605
HILLS ..	30,237	133	90	910	823	150	..	27	..	23	264	713
Garo Hills ..	..	62	..	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	49	951
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	13,639	103	58	942	..	1,000	..	..	..	25	140	835
North Cachar ..	..	68	..	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	95	70	835
Naga Hills ..	2,423	362	16	984	..	..	..	1,000	..	21	531	448
Manipur ..	74,650	184	216	784	1,000	..	..	..	..	34	346	620
Lushai Hills ..	..	243	..	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	320	680

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.

Number per mille of the total population and of each main religion who live in towns.

District and natural division	Total population.	Number per mille who live in town				
		Hindu	Mussalman	Christian.	Jain	
1	2	3	4	5	6	
ASSAM	30	41	21	52	265
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	..	24	26	52	42	186
Goalpara	20	23	18	12	191
Kamrup	35	42	51	86	125
Darrang	14	16	54	36	186
Nowrang	18	20	92	130	228
Sibsagar	23	19	149	35	185
Lakhimpur	31	28	265	89	248
SURMA VALLEY	15	17	18	107	685
Cachar Plains	22	24	17	96	..
Sylhet	14	15	12	115	685
HILLS	90	306	122	53	860
Garo Hills	No Urban Population.	..	..	..
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	58	576	554	69	1,000
North Cachar	No Urban Population.	..	..	..
Naga Hills	16	304	855	17	1,000
Manipur	216	353	185	485	973
Lushai Hills	No Urban Population	..	..	..

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V

Towns classified by population.

Class of Town.	Number of towns of each class in 1911.	Proportion of total urban population of towns in 1911.	Number of families per 1,000 inhab. in 1901 to 1911.	Increase per cent. in the population of the towns as planned at previous census.			(1) Increase in 1911 to 1901.	Increase per cent. in urban population of each class from 1871 to 1911.
				1901 to 1911.	1911 to 1901.	1911 to 1901.		
1	2	2	4	8	8	7	8	30
Total	—	22	—	702	19·71	34·88	9·63	35·94
I.—200,000 and over	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
II.—10,000 to 20,000	—	1	38	1,633	8·34	—	—	—
III.—5,000 to 10,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
IV.—1,000 to 5,000	—	8	37	117	12·53	-78	-15·44	-2·35
V.—500 to 1,000	—	9	38	872	82·37	+18·28	17·98	39·42
VI.—Under 500	—	4	2	822	88·92	18·68	25·82	134·94

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI

Persons per house and houses per square mile.

District and natural division.	Average number of persons per house.				Average number of houses per square mile.			
	1911.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1911.	1901.	1901.	1901.
1	3	3	4	5	8	7	9	6
ARMSTRONG	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
BRAEMAR HIGHLAND	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Gairloch	—	—	—	—	5	7	22	22
Kintail	—	—	—	—	7	12	22	22
Inverness	—	—	—	—	8	10	22	22
Highland	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ladyside	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
LADYBANK	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
SCOTIA VALLEY	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cochabonnie	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Skyline	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
HILLS	—	—	—	—	7	7	—	—
Gowrie Hills	—	—	—	—	—	12	—	—
Elmod and Pictish Hills	—	—	—	—	—	8	7	5
North Calder	—	—	—	—	4	4	5	5
Mugie Hills	—	—	—	—	—	12	10	8
Riverview	—	—	—	†	†	8	12	†
Lochside Hills	—	—	—	—	†	3	8	†

† Figures not available.

CHAPTER II.

MOVEMENT OF POPULATION

26 The causes of the present distribution of population have been discussed in the previous chapter. As far as the plains are concerned before 1901 we have seen that in the early part of the nineteenth

century the west of the province contained the greatest population and that since then the effect of the *par Britannica* and of British enterprise has been to open up the eastern portions of both valleys tea gardens now replace in many places the jungles which in part, at least, owed their origin to the depredations of invaders from the east and north, and the labour force which has been recruited for the tea industry has spread out and brought under the plough thousands of acres which had previously been the abode of tigers and elephants.

In estimating the results of previous censuses, it would be safest to omit the first, which was taken in 1872 it was non-synchronous, lasting from November 1871 to May 1872, and its probable inaccuracy was dealt with at length in paragraph 9 of the last Census Report. The next enumeration was somewhat better in that it was synchronous in the plains districts, but it is impossible to regard it as an exact return of the people it was pointed out by the then Chief Commissioner that the testing of the preliminary schedules by superiors officers was most inefficiently conducted. So that it is not until we come to 1891 that the statistics can be relied upon. The increase in population between the first and the second census was 978,093, and that between the next two 348,440, but in 1891 the population of Manipur, which amounted to 221,070 in 1881, was omitted because the census papers were destroyed in the rising of that year, and there were added the population of Mokokchung subdivision in the Naga Hills and the estimated population of North Lushai, the southern part, which was still in Bongal, remaining uncensused. Between 1891 and 1901 there was an addition of 619,011 persons to the population, but this included the inhabitants of Manipur and the whole of Lushai Hills, which was then censused accurately for the first time the exclusion of these two tracts brings the actual increase in districts which were censused in 1891 down to 325,776.

Between 1872 and 1901, then, we have to remember that the variations are

Period	Variation	affected by (1) more accurate enumeration, and (2) the inclusion of new areas
1872 1881	+18·2 per cent	
1881 1891	+10·2 "	If we exclude the latter, the percentages
1891 1901	+5·9 "	of variation are as shown in the margin

In view of the very great inaccuracy of the first census I do not think that it would be far from the truth if half the apparent ratio of increase in 1881 were attributed to this cause this would give a real increase of 9·1 per cent. No estimate was made in 1891 of the effect of more accurate enumeration, but it was stated that the growth of population in the hill districts could not be stated accurately, their exclusion however gives exactly the same percentage of variation. It would perhaps not be excessive if we deducted 1 per cent to allow for the want of care in 1881 we should thus get the percentages given in the margin as the

Period	Variation	approximately true rates of increase
1872 1881	+9·1 per cent	
1881 1891	+9·2 "	
1891 1901	+5·9 "	

27 In the last Census Report the condition of the province in 1901 was described as anything but satisfactory of the increase in population only 1·36 per cent was due to natural growth and there had been very serious losses in Nowgong, Kamrup and Darrang it was pointed out that, in addition to the destruction caused by kala-azar, the earthquake of 1897 seemed to have sent a death wave over the provinces in the last years of the previous decade. The last decade may be divided roughly into three parts 1901-1904, 1905-1907, 1908-1910. In the first period general health improved slowly at the beginning and then rapidly, in 1904, births exceeded deaths in every district, and in Mangaldoi subdivision of Darrang births and deaths exactly balanced for the first time in twenty years. During the same period the depressed condition

of the tea industry compelled economy which resulted in a continuous decline both in importations and labour force. In the autumn of 1905 exceptionally high floods were succeeded by a virulent outbreak of cholera, which caused an excess of deaths in every plains district the death rate from cholera alone rose from 1·1 per mille in 1904 to 4·2 in 1905 and 6·5 in 1906 the epidemic died down in 1907 and public health began to improve again. Prices rose in 1903 and remained high until the end of the second period, but this had no effect on the people, who are mostly cultivators. Curiously enough it was in 1903 that the prospects of tea began to change for the better and the improvement caused an increase in the labour force and more extensive importation until in 1907 aided by scarcity in the recruiting districts, the volume of immigration rose to nearly 85,000 (including nearly 9,000 children) or three times the annual average of the previous five years. In the last period, 1908-1910 there was a fall in prices and public health gradually improved, though the cholera death rate again rose to 4·2 per mille in 1909 and to 6·8 in 1910 recruitment for tea gardens declined somewhat, but still remained high and in the year ending 30th June 1910 was considerably higher than the average of the years 1902-1904. We have thus to deal with a distinctly progressive decade, which was somewhat marred midway by a cholera epidemic, and before the census was taken every indication pointed to a large increase in the population. Land Revenue increased from 57 lakhs in 1901-1902 to over 67 lakhs in 1908-1910, and between the end of 1901 and the middle of 1910 the labour force on tea gardens increased by nearly 114,000 persons.

Communications have been vastly improved. The Assam-Bengal Railway has been carried through the North Cachar hills and has linked up the south of the Assam Valley as far north as Dibrugarh with Chittagong and Calcutta. The Eastern Bengal State Railway has been extended through Goalpara and Kamrup on north bank of the Brahmaputra and has brought Calcutta within 2½ hours of Gauhati, where it meets a branch of the Assam Bengal Railway.

28. If we were to leave migration out of account and if the registration of births and deaths were accurate, we could calculate the population of each district at any time by adding to the figures of

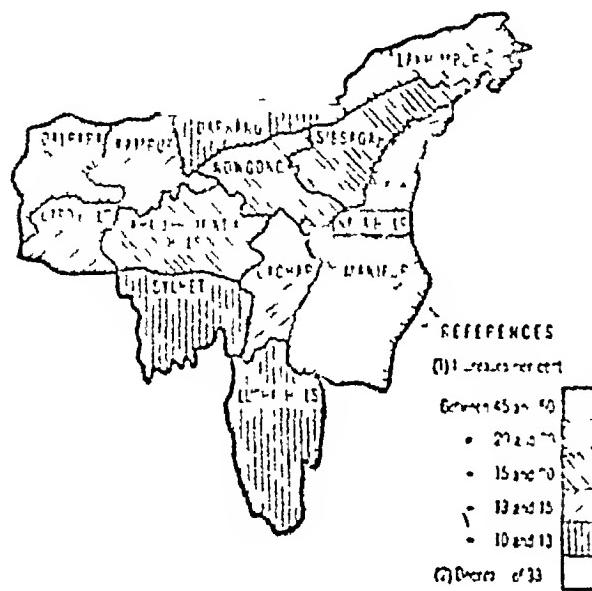
the last census the excess of births over deaths in the interval. But in Assam we can not neglect immigration, which has a most important influence on the movement of population, and the system of recording vital statistics is so bad that their statistical value is greatly diminished. Registration is compulsory only in municipalities and tea gardens, but approximates to accuracy only in the latter and then only for coolies under agreement under Act VI of 1901. In the hill districts there is no registration except in Lushai Hills and limited areas in Khaxi and Jaintia Hills, Naga Hills and Garo Hills. As far as the plains are concerned, the system in force up to 1904 was that described in paragraph 85 of the last Census Report; briefly in the five upper districts of the Brahmaputra Valley returns of rural vital statistics were submitted verbally twice a month by the *gaonbarsas* or village headmen to the subordinate revenue staff who sent in monthly totals in Goalpara and the Surma Valley the police collected the statistics, in the former area from written reports submitted by village panchayets and in the latter from verbal reports by the village chakildars. At the end of 1904 the question of the improvement of the returns was taken up, and urban registration was transferred from the police to special headmen in the Brahmaputra Valley from the beginning of 1907 the *gaonbarsas* have kept a local record in rural areas and report directly to magistrates and in 1908 the compilation of district statistics was transferred from the Deputy Commissioner to the Civil Surgeon. The Sanitary Commissioner of Eastern Bengal and Assam was satisfied that the local records of Assam were more thoroughly inspected than those of Eastern Bengal, but that they were incomplete is shown by the facts that in 1907 out of 3,232 occurrences in Lakhimpur 153 omissions were detected, that in one village of 200 inhabitants there was no *gaonbara* and of course no registers, and that in several other villages the *gaonbarsas* lived miles away. Subsidiary Table III compares the census results, in natural and actual population, with those obtained from the vital statistics. In view of the large amount of immigration to tea gardens it would not be reasonable to expect that the vital statistics should approximate to those of the actual population, but when we compare them with the figures for natural population the discrepancies are so large that it is obvious that they are most inaccurate, and it is perhaps hardly worthwhile to discuss the matter further here but paragraph 64 on birth and death rates in Chapter V should be referred to.

29 The increase in the population since 1901 has been 933,514 persons, or 15.2

Growth of population at the present Census per cent, but part of this is due to the inclusion for the first time of certain Semi and eastern Angum villages in the Naga Hills, which were only under political control at the last census. Their population is 39,593 and its exclusion reduces the increase in the province to 893,928, or almost 14.6 per cent.

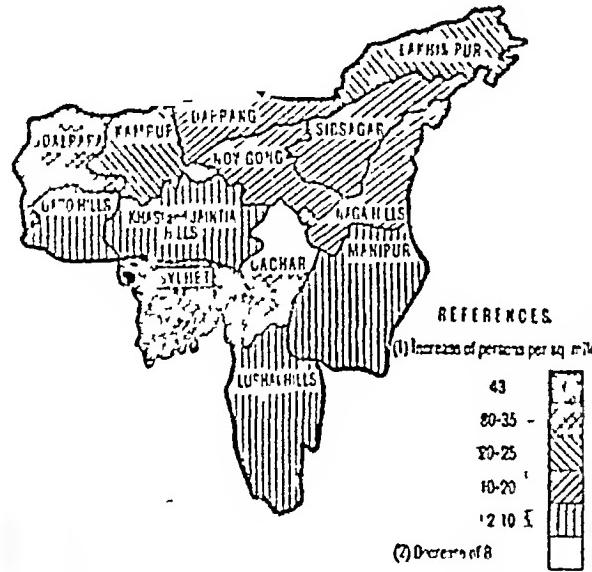
The Brahmaputra Valley shows a growth of 18.7 per cent, the Surma Valley one

ASSAM—VARIATIONS IN POPULATION 1901-1911.



the smallest proportional increase, but this is as much as 10.3 per cent, and every district shows considerable progress, which is a much more satisfactory result than that

ASSAM—VARIATIONS IN DENSITY 100110II



30. The population of the Brahmaputra Valley has increased by 18·7 per cent., but part of this is due to immigration and the increase in natural population, i.e., exclusive of immigrants and inclusive of emigrants, amounts to 16·7 per cent. I regret that in the case of Lakhimpur

and Silberpur it is generally impossible to gather for the establishment of 1901 for areas smaller than a tehsil. The rate of increase of population of Darjeeling and Darjeeling Taluk and Darjeeling town went on increasing until 1901, but there has been no increase in the upper districts in the Valley, notwithstanding the increase of thence a most arbitrary in Lakhimpur and Silberpur and that there have been at other places such a decrease in the last ten years as to make it a record. In fact the rates of increase in the hill districts of 1901 were not then so high as they are now. Let the area in hill and in the plains again be taken, in which natural falls in the river will give. In Darjeeling and Cherrapunji both towns the hill areas have increased very much in the last ten years, while the hill districts of Darjeeling and Cherrapunji have actually gone in the last ten years. The growth of the hill districts of Darjeeling has been slow, as it is not as yet completely occupied and does not now allow a great number of immigrants and there is still a great difficulty in finding agricultural labour in hill areas. At the next census let it be seen that in the hill old towns the recorded change of population is so that it cannot be said to have been really and regularly kept up to date during the last decade.

Lakhimpur is the most progressive district in the province and owing to its development by the tea industry now and has nearly four times the number of people it possessed ten years ago. Dibrugarh subdivision shows a growth of 29 per cent and 17 per cent in North Lakhimpur and Sonitpur due to the fact that the former is more or less tea-willow, but it is still a backwater, whereas Dibrugarh is tea-willow and is subject to flood to be an attractive area for the tea planter. It is growing only in the north and south hill, but the hill villages do not increase. The natural population of the districts shows a growth of 31.3 per cent which is greater than the actual growth and shows that the district has partly emigrated which is mainly in the westward travelling of time-expired exiles and partly to the higher death rate and not new immigrant. It is perhaps only natural that the extraordinary rapid rate of expansion indicated at present cessation should show some signs of slackness off. The Deputy Commissioner attributes this to the slower growth of the tea industry which is due to conditions ruling the market and the fact that practically all the available land near existing communications has been taken up there has been an increase of only 4,000 acres in the area of land held by tea companies since 1901. A curious effect of the acquisition of land by ex-colonels is that there is a steady movement of the indigenous population away from the main centres of concentration, this is said to be due partly to aversion from the social customs of the coolie, but still more to the thrifty and industrious habit of the latter which the local people have no ambition to emulate. It is to be feared that this attraction to opium is partly responsible for their want of energy. The Deputy Commissioner is of opinion that in no long time Dibrugarh subdivision will be populated almost entirely by descendants of their descendants.

In Silberpur another large tea tract, we have an increase of 13.11 per cent in Silberpur subdivision of 16.0 in Jorhat, and of 17.0 in Golaghat at the same rate for the district being 16.4 per cent, which is less than that shown at any previous census. Here again the natural population has grown more rapidly than the actual and for the same reasons as in the case of Lakhimpur. There are extensive areas of waste in Golaghat, where the density of population is only 60, but unfortunately the Nam or forest, which covers a great part of the subdivision, is most unhealthy and it will take many years to open it up. Jorhat has a density of 17 and there is not a great deal of uncultivated land now in the subdivision. Silberpur has many more tea card as than Gauhati and is only slightly less thickly populated than Jorhat. We may expect that Golaghat will continue to progress more rapidly than the other subdivisions and that soon Jorhat will show the slowest rate of expansion. The completion of the Assam Bengal Railway has apparently brought with it a large amount of prosperity to the whole district. It is regrettable that I am unable to treat more in detail such a large and interesting district but it would appear from the reports of the local authorities that the decade has been one of uneventful prosperity the absence of a history is better than a record of disasters.

The population of Tengnong which showed the large decrease of 18 per cent in 1901 on account of the ravages of the kalaazar epidemic has increased by 10.9 per cent, but the natural population has grown in only 14.7 per cent. The earthquake of 1897 altered the levels so greatly that the north of the district became much more

exposed to floods, and the people of the riverain tract between the Brahmaputra and the Kaliang, especially those of mauza Gerua Bokom, have been compelled to migrate to Da-

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siderable development by immigrants in the Kopili Valley, especially in the neighbourhood of Lumding junction. These immigrants include people from Dacea and Mymensingh, as well as from the Surma Valley. The tea gardens of the district, though comparatively few contribute to the growth of population by importing coolies, over 13,000 of whom arrived in the first nine years of the last decade. The population of the district is still lower than it was in 1881, but there is no reason now why it should not resume its position as a prosperous and progressive tract. Kala-azar has disappeared, the people were given great assistance towards recovering their losses by handsome remissions of revenue in 1901 and the recent settlement of the district was made with great care and moderation. Colonisation along the railway is slow but progressive, and no doubt will proceed more rapidly as the jungle is cut back.

Darrang is made up of two subdivisions of very dissimilar characters, Tezpur on the east and Mangaldai on the west. Tezpur is a sparsely populated tract, which has been mostly opened up by tea gardens, while in Mangaldai the soil, except under the hills, is not particularly suitable for tea and the subdivision consists of three tracts—a fairly well cultivated tract in the south-west being separated by an intervening belt of rather useless jungle from a thinly populated submontane area which is inhabited by people of the Bodo race. The district as a whole shows an actual increase in population of 11.9 per cent, but 3.1 per cent of this is due to immigration. In Tezpur subdivision the people have grown by 21.24 per cent, but in Mangaldai, where the population had declined by 9.2 per cent in 1901, there is still an actual decrease of 0.25 per cent, which is due to losses in the northern mauzas, the effects of kala-azar have not yet disappeared from the latter and they seem to have been more seriously affected by the cholera epidemic in 1906. Mangaldai thana in the south shows an increase of 15.16 per cent, which is partly accounted for by immigration from the flooded tracts in the north of Nowongong but all the other thanas show decreases, which unfortunately are confirmed by the results of the recent resettlement of the district, practically speaking, however, we may take it that Mangaldai subdivision is on the way towards recovery, and that an increase of population may be expected at the next census. In Tezpur subdivision the very large advance of over 82 per cent in Bohali thana is due to colonisation by ex-cookies and Nepali graziers, and the satisfactory expansion of over 18 per cent in Tezpur and Sootei is due partly to natural growth and partly to immigration. The slowest rate of increase is in the east of the district in Gohpur thana and may be attributed to the absence of tea gardens and to the tendency of ex-cookies to travel westward in search of a settlement, there are not many gardens in North Lakhimpur on the east and there are large areas of waste awaiting them there, the fact that the west of Tezpur subdivision is being gradually filled up may direct a stream of colonists eastward, but it is more probable that the would-be settlers from Tezpur will find their way to Mangaldai on the west.

Kamrup was the second district which showed a decrease of population in 1901, partly on account of kala-azar and partly owing to the alteration in levels at the 1897 earthquake, which forced people to migrate from tracts that had sunk below

floods and other disasters has not increased. Here there is an increase of 13.3 per cent in the total population while the natural growth amounts to 16.4 per cent. The areas which had been affected by floods after the monsoons have been largely reclaimed during the past decade, and many people who were compelled to leave the districts have been gradually returning; for instance in Dibrugarh a number of them who emigrated to Goalpara and to the south bank of the Brahmaputra have again settled down as new settlers are coming in. This great leap forward is accompanied also by the extension of the Eastern Bengal and Assam Railways to Gauhati, which has led to a further growth in population. As it has not yet been fully completed in the northern part of the district, Gauhati subdivision shows an increase of 11.7 per cent, and Dibrugarh of 10.2 per cent, the excess in the latter case is due to want of more favourable conditions. Least progress has been made in the south bank of the Brahmaputra, this is partly due to the fact that it is a very unhealthy locality probably populated and that the other thanas are rather unhealthy. In the area of the south bank Nabardih Churn, which has a density of 121 naturally shows the smallest percentage of increase, but it is as high as 9.8 and even the northern part of the south bank shows 11.7 per cent.

The two main factors to be noted in Goalpara are the extension of the railway through the north of the district and the extraordinary increase of settlers in the eastern bank from the Bengal districts of Mymensingh, Balasore, Barisal and Jhargram. The others most affected are those which skirt the Brahmaputra in the west of the district. The increase in population is 20.15 per cent in Dibrugarh, 21.81 in Lakhimpur and 34.63 in Dibrugarh. The total population of the district has increased by 39 per cent, the growth in Dibrugarh being 22.57 per cent, as compared with 10.9 in Goalpara. The extent of the rural tracts can be estimated from the fact that the growth in natural population has been only 16.0 per cent. The opening of the railway is no doubt the cause of the advance of 22.11 per cent in the tract known as the Eastern Burn in the north of the district. It is reported that large numbers of Nepalis have settled here for the purpose of cultivation as well as of grazing.

31. The question of the variations in the number of the people who may be described as called Assamese was discussed in Chapter II of

THE ANSWER

the last Census Report. It was pointed out there as A name is not necessarily a person born in Assam for the term can properly be applied only to a native of the Brahmaputra Valley and even there excludes all descendants of immigrants so mean we identify him by his language been so large numbers of coolies and ex-coolies, especially in the eastern end of the Valley have returned Assamese as their language. I am willing follow Mr Allen's example and propose to estimate the variation by assuming that what holds good for a large proportion of purely Assamese castes in the five upper districts of the Brahmaputra Valley may be accepted as indicating the changes in the whole. In Subsidiary Table V I have taken the same castes as were shown in the last Census Report and compared the numbers at present returned as belonging to them with those given in 1901: the net result is that there is an increase of 11.11 per cent which is over 5 per cent less than the growth in natural population in the Brahmaputra Valley. This would tend to show either that the foreign settlers are more prolific than the Assamese or that the latter have not yet fully recovered from the effects of the calamities of the decade before last. The statement in the margin shows for each of the five districts the proportion which the castes in question bear now to the total district population as compared with 1901, and the actual variation per cent. in the total numbers of the castes at the present and the last census. It will be noticed that in the large tea districts of Darrang, Silchar and Lakhimpur the indigenous castes now

Dis. Dist.	Percentage of District Popula- tion		Actual varia- tion per cent.	
	1901 ^a	1911	1911	1901
TOT L	69.70	66.60	11.11	- 6.4
Kamrup	83.85	82.1	11.59	- 5.5
Darrang	67.17	60.91	10.23	- 6.6
Nowrangpur	82.27	82.82	14.76	- 5.6
Silchar	64.45	62.71	12.3	- 5.6
Lakhimpur	49.67	40.22	17.83	30.7

form a smaller portion of the population. This is accounted for in great measure by immigration but may also be due to greater fecundity on the part of the immigrant population, including of course those settled in villages. In Kamrup and Nowrangpur where tea is not of so much importance the variation since 1901 is not so great. The main point is that, excluding Darrang the Assamese castes show very substantial growth. Unfortunately the statistics for Darrang are confirmed by the decrease in the actual population of the northern mafusas of Manganj to which attention has already been drawn and which would account for the decline in the Kochari, Koch and Rabha

castes. But the results in the other districts are very satisfactory, and even the check to the decline in Darrang is at least a sign that there things are on the mend. In 1901 the Assamese castes showed a decline of 6.4 per cent. in spite of substantial increases in Silchar and Lakhimpur, now they are more numerous by over 4 per cent than they were in 1891 in spite of their severe losses in the nineties. Thus the hope expressed at the end of Chapter II of the last Census Report has been more than realised, and the Assamese can no longer be considered a declining race.

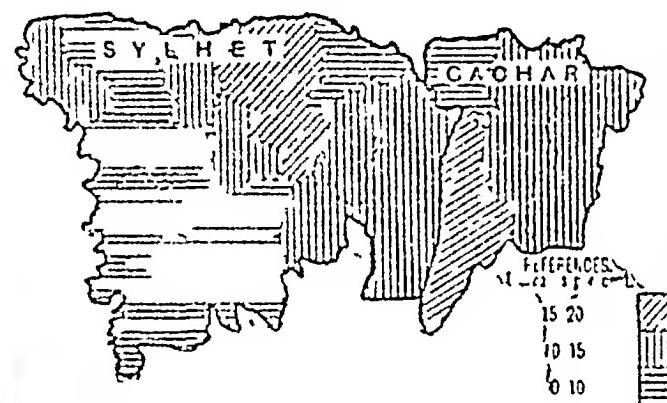
32 It is regrettable that the natural population of the Surma Valley cannot be estimated exactly, because the statistics of immigrants and emigrants have been compiled for whole districts only,

Surma Valley
hence, though the actual variations in the plains of Cachar are available in Subsidiary Table I, the figures in Subsidiary Table II include those of the hill portion as well. According to Subsidiary Table I the actual increase in the Surma Valley proper is 10.8 per cent., that of Cachar plains being 13.1 per cent and that of Sylhet 10.3 per cent. The natural population of Sylhet has increased by 11.7 per cent so that it is clear that the district has lost by emigration. Taking Cachar district as a whole, the actual increase is nearly 9.3 per cent whereas the natural population has increased by 25.3 per cent. the difference is due to the excessively large number of immigrants in North Cachar at the last census and to greater emigration within the last decade.

In Cachar plains the sôr subdivision shows an increase of 12.33 per cent and Hailakandi, which is coterminous with the thana of the same name, one of 16.88 per cent.

In the sôr subdivision both Silchar and Lakhimpur thanas have grown by over 13 per cent, but Katigora, which includes the south-western spurs of North Cachar, has grown by only 5.29 per cent. The district owes a great part of its importance to its tea gardens, but during the last ten years the number of coolies imported to them was only 20,000 as compared with 75,000 in the previous decade. Hailakandi is not alone the most densely populated part of the district,

SURVA VALLEY-VARIATIONS IN POPULATION 1901-1911



but is also the most progressive, in Silchar subdivision there are large areas of jungle-covered hills, swamps and rivers.

In Sylhet the largest increases of population have been in North Sylhet and Karimganj subdivisions, each of which has grown by a little over 13 per cent. In the former case the present results show a remarkable contrast with those of the last census, when the population had decreased in every thana and had declined by nearly 4 per cent in the whole subdivision. Now there are increases of over 14 and 15 per cent in Baliganj and Sylhet thanas, respectively, while Kanairghat shows an increase of over 3 per cent. In Sunamganj subdivision there has been over double the increase disclosed in 1901 and in none of its four thanas has there been an increase of less than 9.6 per cent, the highest being in Chhatik, where it is 12.86 per cent. Habiganj subdivision is apparently not as progressive as it was, the increase per cent being only 7.58 as compared with nearly 10 in 1901, but as the population in each of the thanas of the subdivision is very dense, it is only natural that the rate of increase should be somewhat diminished. Madhabpur shows the greatest signs of progress, 8.28 per cent, and is followed in order by thanas Bawalichang, Nabiganj and Habiganj. In South Sylhet the inhabitants of Kulaura thana have grown by over 11 per cent, while in Maulibazar there has been an increase of over 6 per cent, the progress in the whole subdivision having been three times that shown ten years ago. The two thanas of Karimganj subdivision show increases slightly above and slightly under 13 per cent. Taking it all round the present condition of Sylhet district is extremely satisfactory and the figures show that it has recovered from the effects of the wave of malaria which was reported to have passed over it after the earthquake and which accounted for the decrease of population in North Sylhet and the unsatisfactory condition of South Sylhet and Karimganj at the last census. Within the last ten years over 54,000 coolies have been imported into the tea gardens and large numbers of people from Mymensingh and

Tripura has been able to have settled in the district and reclaimed many of the extensive tracts of land which were heavily in waste before. On the other hand large numbers of all kinds have migrated to Cachar and the non-hill bearing districts of Bengal and Bihar with the Hill Tipperas.

33. The population of the Hills has increased by 14·9 per cent since 1901 in spite of an area of over 23 per cent in North Cachar which

is to be explained due to the migration of the numbers few have returned to settle in 1901. The cause of this large increase in the population in the Dara Hills has also been explained as being mainly due to the entry of tributary tribes. The tributary growth is almost entirely natural and due to general permanent increase of farms. The check to the growth of population in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills caused by the after effects of the earthquake of 1905 now seems to have faded the district as a whole shows the highest increase of 16·4 per cent, though the natural population has increased by only 11·9 on account of the increase in immigration. It is clear that the forecast made in paragraph 41 of the Interim Report was not accurate when conditions have brought about a return to the state of expansion. Hill town subdivision shows an increase of over 17 per cent over 14·73 per cent in Jowai this is probably due to the fact that the former resulted to a greater extent to the effects of the earthquake and the natural increase is greater. The Garo Hills show an increase of nearly 10 per cent.

THE HILLS IN ASSAM AND NEIGHBOURING PROVINCES



Both the natural populaion in the towns has grown by 16·3 per cent, and the difference is apparently due to a check on immigration to the plain areas on the north west of the district, which have become much more subject to calamities like earthquakes of 1907 in Jorhat Hills the population has grown by 10·6 per cent, of which Alpine subdistricts is responsible for 10·4 per cent while Longlakon the south shows a decrease of 0·6 per cent. The natural population of the district has grown by 16·5 per cent, and the difference is due to greater emigration, which is probably accounted for by the movement of tribes over the district boundaries to search of new cultivation. The Superintendent of the district explains the absence of progress in Jorhat, in spite of the absorption of five independent villages whose population in 1901 is unknown, to the general un-

healthiness of the subdivision, which arises from the fact that the people prefer to live at low elevations as near their jhars. It also appears that the Military Police detachment was concentrated as a whole Battalion with headquarters at Alipal instead of being allotted to the posts where they actually were on the census night. Practically the whole of the increase in the State of Manipur is due to natural growth. In the Valley Section population has grown by 16·67 per cent, and in the Hill Section by 31·69 per cent, no doubt part of the increase in the latter is due to more accurate enumeration. In the Valley Section the people have reaped great advantages from the improvement of the road to the Assam Bengal Railway and large quantities of rice are now exported. The decade has been one of general peace and prosperity. In the Hill section the Vice-royal in his Durbar attributes the increase to stronger and more care government and a general advance in civilization.

34. Quite a number of considerations have to be taken into account when estimating the causes of the variations of the provinces as a whole. We may neglect the effects of the inclusion of

General conclusions new areas and of more accurate enumeration as compared with 1901 because they are hardly large enough to make any real difference. The actual population has grown by 15·2 per cent and the natural population by 15·8 per cent, there has been an increase of 13·7 per cent in the number of immigrants but the emigrants have grown by over 55 per cent, and the actual result of the variations of migration is to produce practically a state of equilibrium. After the last census the provinces began

to recover at first slowly and then rapidly from the general conditions of unhealthiness then prevalent, at the middle and end of the decade cholera epidemics caused an excessive mortality, but the general prosperity was unimpaired, and the remarkable rise in prices in 1907 conferred considerable benefits on the people, who are mostly cultivators. Communications have been vastly improved and Assam is no longer cut off from the main currents of life and progress. During the latter half of the decade the tea industry has advanced from the condition of a continual struggle for existence to one of very considerable prosperity, which has been and is likely to be maintained by the difficulties of obtaining labour, because rapid and improvident extensions of cultivation are impossible. Immigration, which has always been a most important factor in the variations of population in Assam, has apparently begun to be something more than the mere supply of the actual needs of the tea industry and the casual incourse of cold weather coolies in search of work we have now what seems to be the commencement of a voluntary stream of settlers, who are at present most in evidence at the outskirts of the Brahmaputra Valley, but have ventured as far east as Tezpur and Nowgong, nor has the Surma Valley been without some little share in this development, though the demand for population there is nothing like what it is in the north of the province. During the past decade the increase in the volume of immigration has naturally fallen behind the natural growth of the people, and we now find that the province has within itself a power of expansion that has unfortunately been absent at the last two censuses. The great drawback of an excessive mortality due to the jungly and insanitary conditions hitherto prevailing seems at last to have been removed. The effects of the distribution of the people by religion and race must not be forgotten; the fact, which is discussed in Chapter IV, that Muhammadans increase more rapidly than Hindus, should tend generally to accelerate the growth of population in the Surma Valley to a more rapid rate than that of the Brahmaputra Valley, but in the latter area the large amount of immigration disturbs the progress of natural growth, and moreover in the present instance the recovery of the people, who suffered more than those of the Surma Valley, from the evil days of the nineties is responsible for an expansion above the normal. An endeavour is made in Chapter V to bring out the effects of variations in the age distribution of the population, and it is shown that at the last census there had been heavy mortality at the extremes of life owing to famine and the general effects of the earthquake, while people in the prime of life had increased. The result is that we have now a more than normal increase in the population, the proportion of the old people and the young people, who are more liable to a high mortality, had been diminished in 1901, and the last decade started with a more than normal proportion of persons in the reproductive period of life, accordingly the mortality rate has been lower than the average and the birth-rate higher. The effect of this should be that in the next decade the birth rate will decline and the death rate will rise, and the next census should show a slower rate of natural growth.

The above considerations do not all apply to the Hills, but it may be taken that the general peace and security now prevailing in this tract, added to the rise in the standard of civilisation, are in a great measure the causes of the increase which has now accrued. The causes of accidental variations due, for example, to the unhealthiness of the Khasi Hills after the earthquake and the presence at the last census of large numbers of foreigners in North Cachar no longer exist, but the deterioration of the north-west plains mafus of Garo Hills is apparently permanent. It is perhaps too much to expect that the present high rate of expansion will be maintained, but there is no reason why we should not anticipate a large increase during the present decade.

When considering the present growth of population and estimating for the future, it is advisable to note whether there is room for further increases. Subsidiary Table IV shows the actual and the proportional variations of thanas classed by density; unfortunately it has been possible only to give statistics for the last decade because the areas of thanas in 1881 and 1891 are unknown. In the province the highest actual increase has taken place in areas with a density in 1901 of under 150 to the square mile, and there is a steady diminution in actual growth corresponding to the rise in density. It is plain that there is ample room for very great expansion and that there is very little chance of overcrowding in either the Brahmaputra Valley or the Hills. The figures for the Surma Valley show that the greatest actual growth took place in thanas with 300-150 to the square mile, while the proportional increase in the areas of greatest density, 600-750, is very nearly as great as that in the class just below it. Blyth is yet a great deal behind the districts in the east of Bengal in the matter of population, and there is no reason why it should not continue to expand.

SUMMARY TABLE I
For a short history of the

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

Section	Period 1-4				Periods 5-12				E 12
	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	
1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	H
2	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
3	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
4	26	27	28	29	30	31	1	2	3
5	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
6	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
7	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
8	31	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
10	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
11	30	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
12	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
13	28	29	30	1	2	3	4	5	6
14	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
16	25	26	27	28	29	30	1	2	3
17	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
18	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
19	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
20	31	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
21	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
22	28	29	30	1	2	3	4	5	6
23	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
24	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	25	26	27	28	29	30	1	2	3
26	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
27	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
28	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
29	31	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
30	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
31	28	29	30	1	2	3	4	5	6
32	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
33	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
34	25	26	27	28	29	30	1	2	3
35	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
36	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
37	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
38	31	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
39	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
40	28	29	30	1	2	3	4	5	6
41	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
42	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
43	25	26	27	28	29	30	1	2	3
44	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
45	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
46	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
47	31	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
48	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
49	28	29	30	1	2	3	4	5	6
50	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
51	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
52	25	26	27	28	29	30	1	2	3
53	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
54	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
55	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
56	31	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
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58	28	29	30	1	2	3	4	5	6
59	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
60	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
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63	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
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66	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
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72	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
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75	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
76	28	29	30	1	2	3	4	5	6
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80	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
81	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
82	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
83	31	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
84	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
85	28	29	30	1	2	3	4	5	6
86	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
87	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
88	25	26	27	28	29	30	1	2	3
89	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
90	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
91	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
92	31	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
93	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
94	28	29	30	1	2	3	4	5	6
95	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
96	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
97	25	26	27	28	29	30	1	2	3
98	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
99	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
100	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
101	31	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
102	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
103	28	29	30	1	2	3	4	5	6
104	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
105	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
106	25	26	27	28	29	30	1	2	3
107	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
108	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
109	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
110	31	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
111	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
112	28	29	30	1	2	3	4	5	6
113	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
114	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
115	25	26	27	28	29	30	1	2	3
116	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
117	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
118	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
119	31	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
120	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
121	28	29	30	1	2	3	4	5	6
122	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
123	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
124	25	26	27	28	29	30	1	2	3
125	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
126	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
127	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
128	31	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
129	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
130	28	29	30	1	2	3	4	5	6
131	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
132	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
133	25	26	27	28	29	30	1	2	3
134	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
135	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
136	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
137	31	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
138	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
139	28	29	30	1	2	3	4	5	6
140	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
141	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
142	25	26	27	28	29	30	1	2	3
143	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
144	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
145	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
146	31	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
147	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
148	28	29	30	1	2	3	4	5	6
149	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
150	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
151	25	26	27	28	29	30	1	2	3
152	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
153	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
154	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
155	31	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
156	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
157	28	29	30	1	2	3	4	5	6
158	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
159	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
160	25	26	27	28	29	30	1	2	3
161	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
162	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
163	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
164	31	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
165	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
166	28	29	30	1	2	3	4	5	

to become his wife
that all that he wants.

The procedure for both 8-19 and 20-year-olds to generate either one single file or several to be located and concatenated

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE III

Comparison with Fisal Statistics

District and Natural Division	In 1901 1910 total number of		Number per cent of population of 1911 of		Excess (+) or deficiency (-) of births over deaths	Increase (+) decrease (-) of population of 1911 compared with 1901	
	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths		Natural population	Actual population
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
ASSAM	1,883,545	1,564,012	85.70	29.65	+ 319,523	+ 687,950	+ 775,801
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY ..	919,219	813,205	35.09	31.04	+ 106,014	+ 357,370	+ 458,592
Gosapara	220,050	177,608	47.62	38.43	+ 42,428	+ 67,675	+ 138,591
Kamrup	201,002	166,993	34.11	28.34	+ 34,007	+ 62,354	+ 78,641
Darrang	117,410	132,232	24.80	39.20	- 14,622	+ 20,993	+ 40,001
Nowrang	82,612	76,093	35.46	29.13	+ 16,519	+ 35,027	+ 42,436
Sibsagar	173,748	153,770	29.05	25.71	+ 10,078	+ 98,850	+ 92,580
Lakhimpur	114,411	106,507	30.80	28.67	+ 7,904	+ 71,547	+ 97,593
SURMA VALLEY ..	964,326	780,817	36.29	28.28	+ 213,509	+ 331,180	+ 288,209
Cachar plains	163,055	113,258	36.90	27.31	+ 80,797	+ 80,311	+ 55,880
Sylhet	811,271	637,559	86.18	28.43	+ 173,712	+ 250,869	+ 230,823

NOTE.—This statement is exclusive of the figures of the hill districts as birth and death statistics are not recorded in them as a whole.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV

Variation by thanas classified according to density

Natural Division	Decade	Variation in thanas with a population per square mile at commencement of decade of				
		Under 150	150—300	300—450	450—600	600—750
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>(a) Actual Variation</i>						
ASSAM ..	1901—1911	+ 465,192	+ 187,085	+ 182,460	+ 88,004	+ 9,804
Brahmaputra Valley ..	1901—1911	+ 304,858	+ 123,838	+ 61,184	+ 225	..
Surma Valley ..	1901—1911	+ 2,679	+ 64,652	+ 121,285	+ 87,779	+ 9,864
Hills ..	1901—1911	+ 157,713				
<i>(b) Proportional Variation</i>						
ASSAM ..	1901—1911	+ 20.07	+ 16.64	+ 12.76	+ 7.70	+ 6.28
Brahmaputra Valley ..	1901—1911	+ 21.51	+ 19.56	+ 14.41	+ 1.15	..
Surma Valley ..	1901—1911	+ 5.29	+ 12.95	+ 12.06	+ 8.93	+ 8.23
Hills ..	1901—1911	+ 18.54				

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V
 1st Census Carter & Tribes

Population Census and Tribes	Kenneb.			Barreng.			Mengow.			Wingow.			Lahmpos.			Total.			
	1860	1870	+ or -	1860	1870	+ or -	1860	1870	+ or -	1860	1870	+ or -	1860	1870	+ or -	1860	1870	+ or -	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	
Aber				-			-			-			-1	27	27	+28	22	-6	
Alam	89	102	13	34	43	9,73	+101	3,071	8,796	+279	111,130	120,386	+9,256	80,000	81,000	+1,000	177,300	187,377	+10,077
Alas	1			-			-			-	30	471	+171	-	-	-	0	471	+171
Amherst				-			-			-			-	75	-	-	-	75	-
Barns Brook-	34	38	4	12	15	8,76	+12	10	14	+62	85	95	+10	-14	18	10	-14	38	-4
Barts	1,000	1,028	+28	4,704	4,708	4,704	-2	4,708	4,704	+108	4,708	4,704	-4	4,704	4,708	+4	4,708	4,704	-4
Bethel	11,100	14,100	+3,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	-1,000	4,000	4,000	+200	4,000	4,000	+200	4,000	4,000	+200	14,000	14,000	+200
Bethel Woods	2,142	2,000	-142	1,200	1,200	1,200	-100	1,200	1,200	-100	1,200	1,200	-100	1,200	1,200	-100	1,200	1,200	-100
Chester	72	76	+4	112	100	-12	-4	100	96	-4	100	96	-4	100	96	-4	100	96	-4
Dale				-			-			-			-	4	4	4	4	4	4
Dana				-			-			-			-	10	10	10	10	10	10
Dicks (Cont.)	36,013	37,386	+1,373	50,723	51,44	+721	3,400	3,400	0	30	30	0	+20	32	3,400	+721	3,400	3,400	+721
Grindall (Cont.)	6,248	6,704	+456	8,000	8,000	8,000	-200	8,000	8,000	+100	8,000	8,000	+100	8,000	8,000	+100	8,000	8,000	+100
Gore	3,344	4,700	+1,356	4,800	4,800	4,800	-100	4,800	4,800	-100	4,800	4,800	-100	4,800	4,800	-100	4,800	4,800	-100
Han	-	4,800	4,700	+100	1,600	1,600	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hajel				-			-			-			-	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jep (Cont.)	27,670	28,214	+544	30,004	30,004	30,004	-100	30,004	30,004	+100	30,004	30,004	+100	30,004	30,004	+100	30,004	30,004	+100
Kent	10,234	10,800	+566	10,700	10,700	10,700	-100	10,700	10,700	+100	10,700	10,700	+100	10,700	10,700	+100	10,700	10,700	+100
Kitteris	3,000	3,000	0	4,200	4,200	4,200	-200	4,200	4,200	-200	4,200	4,200	-200	4,200	4,200	-200	4,200	4,200	-200
Kitte	1,000	1,000	0	1,000	1,000	1,000	-100	1,000	1,000	-100	1,000	1,000	-100	1,000	1,000	-100	1,000	1,000	-100
Kospetha	4,388	4,700	+312	5,200	5,200	5,200	-100	5,200	5,200	-100	5,200	5,200	-100	5,200	5,200	-100	5,200	5,200	-100
Kwend	6,110	6,100	-10	12,000	12,000	12,000	-100	12,000	12,000	-100	12,000	12,000	-100	12,000	12,000	-100	12,000	12,000	-100
Khennell	-			-			-			-			-	0	0	0	0	0	0
Koch	10,000	10,000	0	10,000	10,000	10,000	-100	10,000	10,000	-100	10,000	10,000	-100	10,000	10,000	-100	10,000	10,000	-100
Lobong	1,000	1,200	+200	1,000	1,000	1,000	-100	1,000	1,000	-100	1,000	1,000	-100	1,000	1,000	-100	1,000	1,000	-100
Makala				-			-			-			-	0	0	0	0	0	0
Makik				-			-			-			-	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mak	12	300	+188	100	100	0	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	-100	-100	-100	100	100	-100
Makir	10,000	11,000	+1,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	-100	10,000	10,000	-100	10,000	10,000	-100	10,000	10,000	-100	10,000	10,000	-100
Mak	-	-	-	-	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Makel	-			-			-			-			-	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mak				-			-			-			-	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100
Mak	100	100	0	100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100	100	100	-100			

CHAPTER III.

BIRTH PLACE

35 The statistics of birth place, which are contained in Imperial Table XI, have already been utilised in the preceding chapter to show introductory the natural growth of population in different parts of the province they will now be used to show the extent to which the people migrate from one part of the country to another. It will be advisable, before proceeding to a discussion of the figures, briefly to distinguish the different kinds of migration that must be considered generally speaking, we may divide them into five different types —

(1) *Casual* or minor movements between adjacent villages which affect the returns only when such villages happen to lie on opposite sides of the district boundary,

(2) *Temporary*, due to journeys on business, pilgrimage, etc., including movements of labourers for the construction of roads and railways,

(3) *Periodic*, such as the annual movement which occurs in places at harvest time and the seasonal migration of cattle graziers,

(4) *Semi-permanent*, when people reside and earn their living in a district other than their birth place, but retain their connection with their homes, where they may have their families and where they return in their old age and at intervals in the meantime,

(5) *Permanent*, where people actually give up their home district and settle down in a new one

Our statistics do not show the above movements separately, but we are able to make certain inferences from the proportion of the sexes, the distance of the district of enumeration from the district of birth, and certain notes made at the time of compilation regarding the castes and the occupations of persons coming from distant places. It is not uncommon to find a preponderance of females in casual migration, because young married women often go for their first confinement to their parents' homes but they would be enumerated in their home district and would not appear as emigrants. Generally the bulk of the periodic and semi-permanent migrants are men. Periodic migration has a tendency to become semi-permanent and the latter to become permanent.

36 We have seen from Subsidiary Table II of the previous chapter that in 1911 there were in Assam 882,069 immigrants and that 79,717 Migration — general persons born in the province were enumerated elsewhere. The total population of the province is 7,059,857, so that the percentage of the foreign born is nearly 12.5 as compared with nearly 13 per cent at the last census. On the other hand, the number of emigrants is only 1.1 per cent of the actual population, though it has grown by over 55 per cent since 1901. It is clear that the province attracts a large stream of strangers and sends out only a small number of its own people.

		The statement in the margin shows the constitution per mile of the population of the province according to birth place	
1	BORN IN ASSAM ..	875	on the 10th March 1911. The most re-
	(a) In district of enumeration	857	markable feature of the statistics is that
	(b) In contiguous districts	15	there is so little migration within the
	(c) In other districts	3	province. This result is due to the fol-
2	BORN IN OTHER PROVINCES ..	118	lowing facts first, the people are mainly
	(a) In contiguous parts	9	agriculturists and, as there is no excessive
	(b) In other parts	109	pressure on the soil and their crops are
3	BORN OUTSIDE INDIA ..	7	sure, they have no need to leave their
	Total ..	1,000	villages. Secondly, the tea and coal indus-

tries of the province are maintained by foreign labour, because the local people are too well off to work for hire, and hence they cause no movement of population within the province. Lastly, even if the necessity for migration had existed, communications were so bad up to recent times that large movements would have been out of the question. By far the greatest part of the people born in other provinces come from

distant places : these are mainly the coolies which the tea gardens are compelled to import in the absence of a local supply of labour. As will be shown later the majority of those born outside India come from the State of Nepal which supplies most of the fighting strength of the province and a great part of its cattle graziers.

87 In Subsidiary Table I we find the immigrants divided into classes, according

Extra-Provincial Immigration.

as they come from contiguous and non-contiguous districts of this province and of the neighbouring provinces of Bengal and Burma, from other provinces and from outside India. The number of immigrants from the border districts of Bengal and Burma is comparatively small, the figures in thousands being 90 for the province, of which 20 is confined to Goalpara in the Brahmaputra Valley 33 to Sylhet in the Surma Valley and 7 is divided between Garo Hills and Lushai Hills in the remaining natural division. The really important stream of immigration comes from more distant places, and is diverted almost entirely to the plains of the province, and more especially to the Brahmaputra Valley which receives more than twice as many immigrants from other provinces as the Surma Valley. In order to gain a clear view of the places from which foreign

Immigrants per mille.	
From—	
Bengal	220
Bihar and Orissa	162
Central Provinces	87
Madras	36
United Provinces	12
Rajputana	15
Central Indi	8
Rest Finla	10
Outside India	55
(Total)	40
T. tal	1,000

immigrants come it is necessary to glance at the statistics given in the margin, which show per mille the sources of immigration. Our largest supply comes from Bihar and Orissa, which is followed by Bengal, United Provinces, Central Provinces and Berar and Madras. I propose to examine the figures of these provinces in more detail. It may be noted that immigrants from the Central Provinces, Madras and Central India are imported by the tea industry and that those from Rajputana represent the Macarwi merchants who practically have the monopoly of

the trade of the province outside the district of Sylhet. The United Provinces people are mostly unassisted immigrants though in the Surma Valley they form an important portion of the tea-garden labour force with this exception they consist of carters and hucksters, cattle-dealers, cart workers, fishermen and boatmen, cobblers and hide-dealers, police constables, and domestic servants many of them have settled down, but probably most of them come under the heads of temporary and periodic or semi permanent immigrants. I have noted for persons born outside India the large proportion who come from Nepal. The Brahmaputra Valley contains very large numbers of Nepalis, who are mostly engaged in breeding buffaloes and making *ghos*, they also do a certain amount of rather nomadic cultivation and work as surveyors in the Government forests they are spreading into the hill districts, where they follow the same calling. Many of them are temporary or periodic visitors, but probably the majority are semi-permanent settlers verging towards permanency : there are twice as many men as women amongst the Nepalis censused in the province.

The statistics of the five large provinces given above are shown in more detail in

Immigrants per mille. Total —

From		Assam.	Brahma-	Surma	Hills.
		petra	Valley	Valley	
I. BENGAL	220	128	72	10	
(I) Burdwan	48	38	17		
(II) Presidency	6	5	2	1	
(III) Dacca	64	57	31	6	
(IV) Rajahmili	47	44	1	2	
(V) Chittagong	24	2	21		
(VI) Unassigned	2	2	—	—	
II. BIHAR AND ORISSA	162	86	84	8	
(I) Bihar	132	91	84	2	
(II) Chota Nagpur	270	223	48	1	
(III) Orissa	42	35	6	—	
III. CENTRAL PROVIN-					
CUES AND BERAR	87	68	34	—	
IV. UNITED PROVINCES	12	37	73	9	
V. MADRAS	30	27	12		

the margin, where those for Bengal and Bihar and Orissa are also divided according to the divisions of those two provinces.

To begin with the neighbouring divisions of Bengal Rajahmili, Chittagong, and Dacca the majority of those born in the Rajahmili division were censused in Goalpara and represent settlers from Rangpur and Palna the latter though not a contiguous district, has shared with Mymensingh through the recent colonisation of the riverine lands of Goalpara most of the people of the Chittagong division have from

Tippera and have settled in the neighbouring district of Sylhet over 75 per cent. of the immigrants from the Dacca division were enumerated in Sylhet and Goalpara and more than two-thirds of them came from Mymensingh, so that they mostly represent inter-district movements of settlers the rest, who are scattered over the province, are clerks and shop-keepers. Those who come from the Presidency division are found in small numbers in all the plains districts and are probably mostly clerks. The majority of those born in the Burdwan division come from Bankura and Midnapur and are most in evidence in the tea districts they and those from Burdwan and Birbhum districts are mostly tea garden coolies the majority of the remainder are probably clerks.

Turning now to Bihar and Orissa we find that Chota Nagpur is responsible for the majority of the immigrants this is accounted for by the large extent of garden coolie recruitment in this sub-province the great majority go to the Brahmaputra Valley, where they are welcomed on account of their capability of withstanding hard work in the jungle and the effects of the climate. The figures for Orissa are explained in the same way. Bihar sends large numbers of more or less temporary settlers to Assam where they earn the money that pays their rents at home, these people follow the same avocations as those practised by their neighbours from the United Provinces, which have been noted above. But two divisions, Patna and Bhagalpur, contain several districts which supply coolies to tea gardens the majority of the people from Monghyr, Sinthal Parganas and Gaya are garden coolies and are strongest in the tea districts.

The statistics of the remaining three provinces need not detain us long. Practically the whole of the immigrants from the Central Provinces and Madras are recruited for tea gardens and the major portion of them go to the Brahmaputra Valley favourite districts of recruitment are in order Bilaspur (26,500) Jalalpur (15,000), Bilaspur (7,000), Rupur (6,000), and Sroni (5,000). The Surma Valley gardens contain a large number (11,000) of United Provinces coolies, because they thrive there, while they have proved a failure in the Brahmaputra Valley for climatic reasons the district from which most of the emigrants come is Ghazipur, which is claimed as their birth place by over 30,000 persons, of whom over 25,000 were censused in Cachar and Silhet. Ghazipur is followed by Azamgarh (16,000), Ballia (9,000), Benares and Basti (8,000), and Mirzapur and Jannpur (5,000).

It will be seen from the above that the tea industry is the main cause of the inflow of immigrants it must not be forgotten that not alone does it import coolies, but it attracts large numbers of other immigrants whose sources of livelihood can be traced directly or indirectly to it as for instance shop-keepers, hucksters, clerks, cutters, and boatmen. In fact it is impossible to reckon how much of the immigration can be attributed to causes other than the tea industry. In Provincial Table IV will be found the birth places of persons actually enumerated in tea gardens by districts the statistics include everyone found on tea-garden land on the Census night, but it may be taken that practically the whole number of those born outside the province were attracted by the industry the wide range of the sources of immigration indicates the extent of the debt which the province owes to tea.

SS An attempt was made in the last Census Report roughly to estimate the actual number of the foreign born who were originally

Colonisation by the tea brought to the province as garden coolies, it is clear that industry

the number of the latter will not represent the whole facts, for it leaves out of account the non-coolie immigrants whose presence is due to the same cause. It is equally clear that the number of the foreign born only will not help us very much towards an estimate of what the province owes to the industry, because there are large numbers of descendants of immigrants born in the province who now constitute part of the natural population. If we confine ourselves to an estimate of the number of coolies alone, we might include the total immigrants from Chota Nagpur, Orissa, Central Provinces, Madras and Central India, in consideration of the figures in Provincial Table IV, I estimate that one-half of the immigrants from Bihar and two-thirds of those from the United Provinces were imported by tea gardens, I would limit the coolies from Bengal to the four districts I have already mentioned. On this rough estimate the number of foreign-born coolies recruited for tea gardens comes to 570,000 - this figure is much less than Mr Allen's estimate in 1901, which was as much as 615,000, but I am inclined to think that he was not correct in attributing the whole of the immigration from the Burdwan, Patna and Bhagalpur divisions of Bengal and Bihar and from the United Provinces to direct garden recruitment. My estimate is perhaps rather conservative, but I am inclined to think that it is nearer the truth.

The number of the foreign born coolies does not, as I have explained above, cover anything like the total number of the labour force, as will be seen from Provincial Table IV which shows that over 37 per cent of the Indians censused on tea gardens were born in Assam. Besides these home-born labourers, who are the descendants of imported coolies, we have to reckon the vast number of ex-coolies and their descendants who have settled down all over the province and have cleared its jungle covered areas. The estimation of the number of these colonists is a most difficult task. In 1901 Mr Allen made two attempts to do it in paragraph 66 of his Census Report he gave an estimate based on the total village population born in the recruiting areas,

and in paragraph 200 he gave the village population of the castes usually found amongst tea coolies; the first estimate came to 131,303 and the second to 141,152 persons. These figures were subsequently examined by Mr P. O. Melitus, c.s.i. o.i.m., late Member of the Board of Revenue Eastern Bengal and Assam, who has an intimate acquaintance with local conditions. He pointed out that Mr Allen's estimate was only a *minimum* and could not be taken as representing facts and Mr Allen accepted this; he further showed it was impossible to find any exact criterion for estimating the actual number of the colonists who lived from tea gardens. It is obvious from what I have written that we cannot be sure of any calculation based on birth place it is equally difficult to go on statistics of immigration, as will be clear from the contents of Chapter IX: the estimate by caste was not put forward as other than most indeterminate, for it is not feasible to distinguish between foreign and local castes with the same titles. It must also be remembered that the length of the period of colonisation and the gradual improvement of communications have made any calculation far more difficult at the present time we are less sure than before of how the foreign population came to the province. I have discussed this question with Mr Melitus, who was of opinion that no advantage would be gained by repeating the attempt at the present time but referred to the strenuous efforts made last year to obtain correct statistics of the land held by ex-coolies as probably affording a fair method of attempting the calculation in the temporarily settled districts. The Land Revenue Report for 1910-1911 shows that the total area of Government land held by time-expired coolies in the two valleys was 191,699 acres. Mr Melitus estimated that amongst Assamese 75 acres would support 60 persons, but that, as new settlers would probably cultivate a smaller area and were not entirely dependent on their land it might be taken in 1901 that 75 acres would support 100 foreigners; we must now allow for the fact that the latter have settled in greater numbers and cultivate more largely and probably it would not be far from the truth if we allowed 90 colonists for 75 acres this would give us 230,000 ex-coolies settled on Government land. This not improbably represents about two-thirds of the total number of colonists large numbers hold land on leases from persons other than Government and large numbers are employed as cartmen servants labourers and petty traders. On this estimate the tea gardens have sent forth about 350,000 colonists. The actual population of the tea gardens is over 700,000 so that perhaps we should not err very greatly if we assume that the province owes the addition of well over a million of people directly to the tea industry. In addition to this we must reckon the large number who have been indirectly brought to Assam by the same cause if we include their resident descendants, it would perhaps not be too much to place their number at half a million. The final result is that there are now 1½ millions of people in Assam, who would not have been here, if there had been no tea gardens. I do not put forward this estimate as a strict but a rough calculation; I have been guided to a great extent by the estimates made by Mr Melitus for the population of 1901, but it is not improbable that his unique acquaintance with Assam has given them a greater approach to accuracy than could be attained by following the methods adopted by my predecessors.

89 The amount of emigration from the province is small, as I have shown above

Extra-Provincial emigration.		
Total	—	70,717
0 INDIA	—	70,303
Bengal	—	67,510
Bihar and Orissa	—	6,392
Burma	—	3,211
United Provinces	—	1,222
Madras	—	204
Central Provinces	—	104
P. J. G.	—	173
Bombay	—	48
Andhra	—	46
Rajputana	—	44
Sikkim	—	43
N.W. Frontier Province	—	21
Baluchistan	—	10
Central India	—	5
Hyderabad	—	5
Gadisar	—	1
in OUTSIDE INDIA	—	204

(in OUTSIDE INDIA) 204

Bengal absorbs over 81 per mille, of whom 810 went to neighbouring districts and 884 to more distant places; emigrants to Dacca, Mymensingh, Tippera and Hill Tippera account for the majority of those from the Burma Valley while Jalsalgudi and Bangalore absorb most of the emigrants to contiguous districts from the Brahmaputra Valley and Mymensingh receives most of those from Garo Hills. Of the more distant parts of Bengal, Calcutta (4,990) Cooch Behar (3,203) and Howrah (432) returned the majority of the Assam born. Emigrants to Bihar and Orissa represent only 80 per mille of the total the largest number come from Kamrup (1,681) which is followed in order by Sibsagar (1,163) Darrang (819) Lakhimpur (711) Nowrang (671) Sylhet (540) Cachar (497) and Goalpara (279). I do not understand the cause of the Kamrup figures, because

its tea gardens are not of much importance the emigrants from the other districts are probably children of immigrants who have returned permanently or temporarily, probably tea-garden senders despatched to the recruiting districts account for most of them. But the amount of emigration to this and the other provinces is unimportant and does not require detailed consideration I may note that the 524 emigrants outside India were enumerated in Colombo harbour on vessels arriving after the census, and that 511 of them, who came from Sylhet, are no doubt part of the engineer-room staff on board liners on the Calcutta-London route.

40 Subsidiary Table IV shows the actual numbers in round thousands of those born in one natural division of the province and enumerated in another. Out of 632 immigrants to the Brahmaputra Valley only 15 came from other natural divisions, similarly out of 246 in the Surma Valley only 5 came from within the province, while the number of provincial immigrants in the Hills is 13 out of 37. It is obvious that these movements are negligible at present. I have already explained the causes of this result in paragraph 36 above. The slight variations between now and 1901 do not call for any special note.

41 Subsidiary Table III gives proportional figures showing the results of migration for each district in the province the actual figures of immigrants and emigrants have already been shown in **General results** Subsidiary Table II of the last chapter. It is clear that, if we exclude the Hills, which are not important from our present point of view, most of the immigrants come from distant places and most of the emigrants really only cross the boundary between neighbouring districts. The proportions of the sexes given in Subsidiary Table III for the two valleys are remarkable for the fact that females appear in large numbers both in what I may call contiguous immigration and in distant immigration this result naturally follows in the former, which represents permanent transfer of settlers, and that it appears in the latter is due to the fact that women are as much required as men for the tea gardens, partly because they are the superior sex at plucking the leaf, and partly because they are desirable for the purposes of reproduction, which adds to the labour force without the cost of recruitment. In the Hills, on the other hand, women from distant places are much less numerous than those from contiguous districts. But amongst the emigrants to distant places women are everywhere few, except in the case of Cachar where the small number of emigrants are probably permanent settlers, and of the Khasi Hills which sends out a number of children's ayahs all over the province.

The provincial balance of account with other provinces, which is given in Subsidiary Table V, shows the enormous profit which accrues to Assam from immigration and the growth of this profit in comparison with 1901 the balance in favour of Assam is now 7½ per cent larger than it was ten years ago. The only places which show a falling off are the United Provinces and Punjab the decrease in the latter is due to the employment in 1901 of large numbers of Punjabis on railway construction, which is also responsible in great measure for the decline in the former, but the district figures show that United Provinces people are now less numerous in all the tea districts, though they have increased in the others, and the result is probably due in part to the superiority of coolies from other places for tea-garden work. It was intended that Subsidiary Table V should show the variations for British territory and for States, but separate statistics for 1901 were not available I have accordingly shown the detailed figures for 1911 in the second part of the Table. The only serious loss to the province arises from the proximity of the Hill Tippera State to the Sylhet border the figures show that there is an excess of nearly 29,000 emigrants, but besides this considerable numbers of tea garden coolies are attracted over the border who will appear in the State Census as born in other parts of India.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I
Imperfections (real figures)

Now a tenth month.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE 1L
 ENDINGS (A-FIN).

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V
Migration between the Provinces and other parts of India.
PART I

Provinces or States.	Emigration to Areas in			Emigration from Areas in			Excess (+) or deficiency (-) of Emigration over Immigration.	
	1911.	1901.	Variation.	1911.	1901.	Variation.	1911.	1901.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
TOTAL	—	—	—	821,178	100,269	81,909	10,327	81,879
Ajmer-Merwara	—	—	—	44	14	-18	—	—
Andhra and Nizam's	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	-124
Baluchistan	—	—	—	267	268	-1	—	—
Bengal	—	—	—	170,473	122,077	48,396	34	—
Bihar and Oudh	—	—	—	266,207	266,014	193	67,296	66,914
Bombay	—	—	—	1,262	1,039	223	—	—
Burma	—	—	—	2,002	1,000	1,002	—	—
Central India Agency	—	—	—	2,971	1,000	+1,971	—	—
Central Provinces and Berar	—	—	—	7,104	12,161	-5,057	—	—
Cooch	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+14
Hyderabad State	—	—	—	119	121	-2	—	—
Kashmir State	—	—	—	10	68	-58	—	—
Madras (including Cochin and Travancore)	—	—	—	34,898	21,021	13,877	304	338
Mysore State	—	—	—	—	—	—	+18	+24,208
North-Western Frontier Province	—	—	—	162	176	-14	—	—
Punjab	—	—	—	2,702	4,006	-1,304	—	—
Rajputana Agency	—	—	—	11,709	9,206	2,503	—	—
Sikhs	—	—	—	12	6	6	—	—
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh	—	—	—	26,225	26,046	-189	123	123
Sirhind and Portion of Lahore Settlements	—	—	—	—	—	—	+97,318	+96,978
India, unreported	—	—	—	22	144	-122	—	—

PART II

Provinces or States.	Emigration to Areas in 1911.			Emigration from Areas in 1911.			Excess (+) or deficiency (-) of Emigration over Immigration, 1911.			
	(a) Total	(b) British Territory	(c) Non-British Territory	(d) Total	(e) British Territory	(f) Non-British Territory	(g) Total	(h) British Territory	(i) Non-British Territory	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
TOTAL	821,178	689,081	132,097	70,163	70,496	3,307	+731,095	702,686	-500	
Parties Treated	707,220	700,267	1,932	48,000	48,496	2,604	+749,130	740,807	-732	
Ajmer-Merwara	44	34	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Andhra and Nizam's (Part Bharat)	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Baluchistan (administered territorially)	139	139	—	—	10	10	—	139	+139	
Bengal	171,473	161,473	20	36,474	36,206	114	125,474	121,206	—74	
Bihar and Oudh	201,901	201,784	17	46,496	46,000	464	245,901	241,784	+4,117	
Madras (including Adyar)	2,033	2,031	2	10	10	—	—	10	—	
Burma	2,971	2,971	—	121	121	—	—	121	—	
Central Provinces and Berar	7,104	7,161	—	186	186	—	—	186	—	
Cooch	—	—	—	—	—	—	+12,303	12,203	—7	
Madras (including Laccadive Isles)	34,898	21,021	13,877	304	304	—	—	30,594	—	
North-West Frontier Province (British and administered territories)	81	81	—	—	29	29	—	71	—10	
Punjab	2,702	2,702	—	427	387	40	—	2,125	2,702	-577
Rajputana Agency	11,709	9,206	2,503	1,163	1,163	—	—	9,546	9,206	—340
Sikhs	12	6	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL 1911, 1910-1911	823,765	823,643	122	81,163	81,000	123	+82,878	82,883	—5	
Parties Treated	77	77	—	—	—	—	+70,037	69,728	—309	
Baluchistan (Agency Tracts)	1,962	1,962	—	36,794	36,212	582	—	—	—	
Central Provinces and Berar	6,046	6,046	—	121	121	—	—	6,167	—	
Bombay Islands	1,779	1,763	16	—	—	16	—	—	—	
Central India Agency	1,584	1,583	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Central Provinces Islands	4,626	4,626	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
My Sojourner State	31	119	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Adyar State (including Cochin and Travancore)	15	15	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Mysore State	143	116	27	—	—	—	—	—	—	
North-West Frontier Pro- vince (Agencies and British areas)	22	22	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Parties Treated	11,709	11,675	34	111	111	—	—	11,595	+11,577	
Punjab	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Central Provinces States	117	114	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	
TOTAL 1911, 1910-1911	268	268	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1911, 1910-1911	70	70	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	

CHAPTER IV.

RELIGION

42 This chapter is divided into two parts, of which the first deals with the statistics, and the second contains some general information regarding Hindus, which is intended to be an addition to that given in the last Census Report.

The statistics are contained in Imperial Tables VI, XVII, and XVIII, of which the first shows all the religions by districts, and the latter two deal with Christians only, Table XVII containing the territorial distribution of the Christian population by sect and race, and Table XVIII showing non-Indian Christians by race and age. Besides these, there are six subsidiary tables attached to this chapter, showing (I) the general distribution of the population by religion, (II) the distribution by districts of the main religions, (III) the number and variations of Christians, (IV) the actual numbers of the races and sects of Christians, (V) the distribution of Christians, (a) races by sect, (b) sects by race, and (VI) the religions of the urban and the rural population.

No attempt was made to alter the returns in the census schedules, the number of
the adherents of each religion as given,
2,626,762.

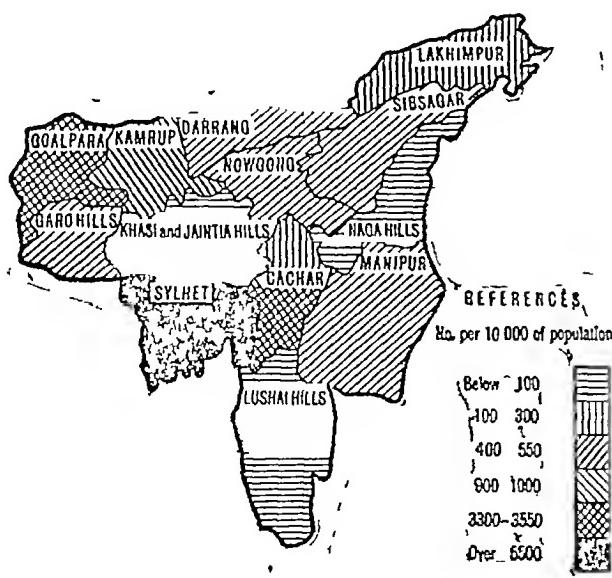
Hindu		3,838,769
Brahmo	"	428
Sikh	"	757
Jain		2,508
Buddhist		10,513
Musalman	"	1,901,032
Christian	"	66,562
Animist	"	1,239,280
Minor		8
Total		7,059,857

therefore, by the people themselves is shown in the margin. More than half are Hindus, a little more than a quarter are Muhammadans, and less than one-fifth are Animists. As there will be something more to say about Hindus than about the others, I propose to leave them until the

last and to treat the rest in the order of their numerical importance

43 Muhammadans constitute more than half the population of the Surma Valley, about one-ninth of the Brahmaputra Valley, and are a negligible quantity in the Hills. This distribution is due to historical causes, Sylhet was conquered by the Muhammadans in the fourteenth

ASSAM — MUHAMMADANS



considerable number, this fact is mainly due to immigration from over the border. In the whole province Muhammadans have increased by 20·2 per cent since 1901, the contribution of the Brahmaputra Valley being no less than 42·8, while that of the Suwa Valley is 16·3. The former rapid rate is due to the large immigration of Muhammadans

from Bengal to Goalpara the latter rate is higher than the rate of increase amongst the general population which is 10·77 and is due to the fact that the Muhammadans are more prolific than their neighbours because of their partaking of more sustaining food and their freedom from prejudice on the question of the marriage of widows. It is doubtful if any appreciable part of the increase is due to conversions. The reasons given for the distribution and the progress in growth of the Muhammadan community were treated so fully in the last Census Report that it is unnecessary to refer to them in greater detail. It may be noted that the large immigration which the province owes to the tea industry does not affect the increase of Muhammadans, who are rarely found as coolies on tea estates and in the upper Brahmaputra districts, which owe so much to immigration are doing little more than holding their own in Lakhimpur their percentage of the total population has actually declined, though their absolute numbers show an increase.

44 Those who had no recognised religion were shown in column of the schedule for religion under the name of their tribe. Large numbers

Animists.

of such people have already been converted to Hinduism and many of them now are so near the border line that it is difficult to say what they are. The questions as to who were Hindus and who were not was raised in 1910 by a circular of the Census Commissioner and was publicly discussed in the newspapers the general effect of this was that Charge Superintendents, at least, were enlightened as to the points in dispute and, when the discussion was ended by the announcement that it had never been intended to class religions otherwise than as they were returned by the people themselves, the result on the whole was that there was a greater tendency to be accurate and in fact to carry out the orders as they were originally issued.

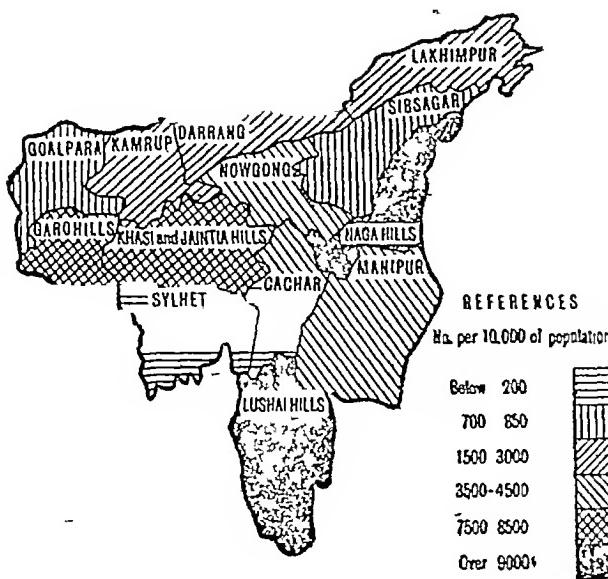
The basis of the form of belief known as Animism is fear. Animism has been described as—

In some sort the philosophy of the uncivilised man in virtue of which he constructs for himself a picture of the world so far as has an interest in it. It is occupied with the soul of the living man as well as with the souls of living creatures, organisms and even lifeless objects to which it likewise ascribes soul or to speak more correctly soul-stuff. This soul-stuff becomes the object of worship. From a universal soul, an indestructible store of life living souls flow to men, animals, plants, metals, instruments, houses, etc. Whatever participates in this life-stuff is valuable and desirable. The question for the Animist is how to place his own soul in relation to the souls surrounding him and to their powers, which are partly injurious and partly useful, with as little danger to himself and as much advantage to himself as possible. What must I do to protect and to enrich my soul? That is the critical question of the Animistic catechism. Animism is the key to an understanding of ancestor worship and of all that is commonly called heathen superstition. The worship of spirits is rare in the case of Animism and he to do with demons and ancestors, for the spirit of the dead in their malicious doings are scarcely distinguishable from the demons. Earth, air and water are supposed to be peopled with spirits. They are most numerous in the forest and in the waste lands, where they lie in wait for the living and afflict them with disease and madness or drag them away to an awful death. They prowl round the houses at night, they fly through the streets of the populous, or even into the houses in the form of some beast or bird. The number of dangerous spirits to whom human misery is traced back is legion. Warneck's *The Living Forces of India* pp. 43, 63, 65.

The propitiation of these evil spirits practically forms the whole religion of the primitive man. He has, it is true vague ideas of the existence of a good natural deity but unfortunately the latter either has no power or does not care to restrain the mischiefs of the spirits and consequently receives no prayers or worship. The actual details of the belief of the Animists of this province are contained in the series of short local monographs on different tribes which have been published by the orders of Government under the general control of Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon Childe. Superfluous notes of Ethnography consequently it is unnecessary for me to discuss them further.

45 As might be expected, Animists are found mainly in the Hills, where they constitute over two-thirds of the population they also exist along the edges of the Brahmaputra Valley, where their number is not very much less than that found in the Hills and is equivalent to over 17 per cent of the inhabitants In the Surma Valley they are insignificant and are slightly more numerous in the plains of Cachar than in Sylhet In the Naga and Lushai Hills over nine-tenths of the people still cling to their primitive ideas, and even in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, where Christianity has made such strides, over four-fifths of the people are still unconverted In North Cachar and Manipur Animists constitute less than half the population owing to the

ASSAM—ANIMISTS



spread of Hinduism

Since the last census Animists have increased in the province by 16 per cent or nearly one per cent more than the growth of the general population, the rates of increase in the Brahmaputra Valley and the Hills are almost equal, but there has been a decline of nearly one-fifth in the Surma Valley The increase in the Brahmaputra Valley is slightly above that of the general population and has been gained to a certain extent by immigration, but more by greater accuracy in the record of religions in Darrang the number of Animists has grown by 38 per cent, in Sibsagar by nearly 42 per cent and in Lakhimpur by nearly 327 per cent, in Nowrangpur, where there is not much immigration, Animists are now over 35 per cent more numerous than they were 10 years ago, though the general population grew by only 16 per cent, in Kamrup, however, though the growth in the total population was over 13 per cent, Animists have increased by less than 12 per cent and the difference is probably due to conversions to Hinduism There is an extraordinary decrease in Goalpara where there are only 47,339 Animists against 1,5618 at the last census, and the proportion per 10,000 of the population has fallen from 2,719 to 788, this decrease is due to the conversion by one Sib Narayan Swami* of large numbers of Meches to what they style the Brahma religion, which has nothing to do with Brahmo Somaj, but apparently purports to be a form of the Vedic Hinduism. In all the hill districts except North Cachar and Manipur the proportion of Animists has declined in North Cachar the presence of large numbers of Pathans on railway construction gave a temporary importance to the Muhammadan population in 1901, and the slight proportional increase in Manipur is due to a more accurate census in the hills of the State. The population of the Hills has grown by 18·5 per cent, but the increase in Animists is only 17·6 the spread of Christianity is responsible for a great part of the difference

46 Though the ratio of growth of Christianity since 1901 is less than that at the

last two censuses, it is no less than 85 per cent and there are now over eight times the number of Christians that

there were thirty years ago Success is usually obtained amongst Animistic tribes who have not yet felt the attraction of Hinduism The percentage of increase in the Brahmaputra Valley is nearly 70, in the Surma Valley 54·6, and in the Hills 96·2 The community is strongest in the latter division, where there are 423 Christians in every 10,000 of the population and is lowest in the Surma Valley, where the proportion is only 9, while in the Brahmaputra Valley it is 68 in the province as a whole the number per 10,000 is only 94 against 59 in 1901 and 31 in 1891. Subsidiary Table III gives the actual number in each district and the variations since 1881 A little less than half the total number is confined to the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, where there are now 31,257 Christians In the Hills as a whole there are twice as many as there are in the Brahmaputra Valley, and the number in the Surma Valley is insignificant.

* He was an up-country Brahman who preached a form of Vedic Hinduism in many parts of India and in his later days in Calcutta he was received with favour by the Rajbansis zamindar of Goalpara and through them about ten years ago he got into touch with the Meches

The greatest increase was in the Lushai Hills, where there are now 2,461 against 45 ten years ago, and the next in the Naga Hills, which now contain 3,303 in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills; the increase has been over 80 per cent. in spite of the previous large number and in the Garo Hills the number has nearly doubled. In the Brahmaputra Valley the only districts with over 5,000 Christians are Sibsagar and Goalpara, where the rates of increase are 117 and 59 per cent. respectively, the lowest percentage was nearly 41 in Nowrang. In Sylhet, though the total is small the number of Christians doubled since 1931. These figures show wonderful progress.

47 Subsidiary Table IV shows the actual numbers of Christians by sect and race which are distributed per mile in Subsidiary Table V. The largest sect is the Presbyterian, which is represented by the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist mission of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, and the next the Baptist; these two communities include between them four-fifths of the Christians of the province. The Anglican Communion, the Lutheran, and the Roman Catholics practically make up the remainder. Two-thirds of the Europeans are members of the Anglican Communion and Anglo-Indians are fairly divided between that and Roman Catholicism, but there is little doubt that numbers of Anglo-Indians returned themselves as Europeans in spite of the abolition of the name of bhamelan. The distribution of Europeans by sect is very similar to that at the last census, but the number of Anglo-Indians has increased, especially the Roman Catholics. Indian Christians constitute 939 to every 1,000 and nearly half of them are Presbyterians and over one-third are Baptists, so that, practically speaking, the remaining sects are not worth much consideration. It may however be noted that out of every 1,000 Indian Christians 59 are Lutherans, 53 are Anglicans, and 39 are Roman Catholics.

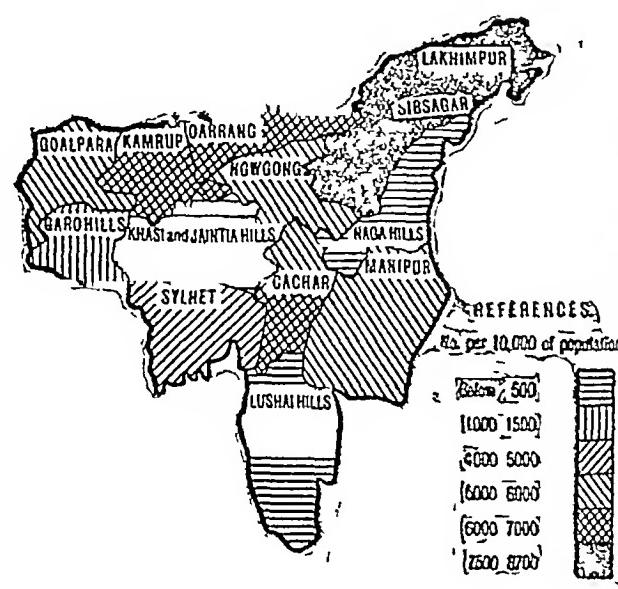
48. The most successful Christian mission is that of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, which has its headquarters in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, and small branches in the Lushai Hills, Cachar and Sylhet, where its efforts are mainly confined to the Namasudra caste. The next in importance is the American Baptist mission, which works in all the districts of the Brahmaputra Valley except Darrang in the Naga Hills, Garo Hills, Khasi Hills, and Manipur. The German Evangelical Lutheran (Gesenck's) mission has branches in Kamrup, Sibsagar and Lakhimpur. The Society for Propagation of the Gospel works in Cachar, Darrang and Sibsagar. Roman Catholics have missions in Sylhet, Khasi and Jaintia Hill, Kamrup and Lakhimpur. Besides the above, there are the following in individual districts—Free Church of Scotland Santhal Mission and American Presbyterians in Sylhet, Church of God (American) Mission in the Khasi Hill, the Baptist Missionary Society and the Lakhimpur Congregationalist Mission in the Lakhimpur Hills, the Indian Home Mission to the Santhals (Lutheran Church of Denmark) in Goalpara, the Church Missionary Society and Canadian Independent Baptist Mission in Lakhimpur. Briefly in the hills these missions work amongst the Animistic tribes, and in the plains are mostly concerned with the aboriginal importations to the tea gardens. In the Brahmaputra Valley efforts are made to attract the local Animists also, e.g. the Mikirs of Nowrang the Kacharis of Darrang and the Rabhas of Goalpara, but without any great success at present, except perhaps amongst the Mikirs. The fact that large numbers of tea coolies come from Chota Nagpur where there is much missionary enterprise, is probably one reason for the general direction of the work in the plains. For example, the German Lutheran Mission came from Chota Nagpur to look after its migrant converts. Converts usually consist of isolated individuals. No material inducements are offered and the main desire of the Animist seems to be freedom from the terrors amidst which they live but there is no doubt that they are influenced by the care and attention which the Christians receive from the missionaries and by the education which is imparted in their schools. The most striking example of the spread of education is in the Khasi and Jaintia Hill where it is not too much to say that the Welsh Mission has revolutionised the district and in the hill districts generally a good deal of education is done. In the plains where tea is too common to be a source of attraction and work is mostly confined to plucking and tea it is

49. As the numbers are still I place together Brahmo, Sikhs, Jains and Budhists. The Brahmos are strongest in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, where no doubt the presence of the Government officials attribute largely to the increase from 83 to 200. Indeed their number in the former districts except this and Goalpara, where there has been a fall from 111 to 100. It is only among the educated class that the Brahmo Samaj stands in such a high position that greater liberty in caste

matters has weakened the tendency to desert orthodoxy. Sikhs are still most numerous in Nowgong, where they are mostly employed on the railway at Lumding. The Marwaris, who have the monopoly of trade in the Brahmaputra Valley, are responsible for the fact that over four-fifths of the Jains are found there. Over half of the Buddhists were censused in Lakhimpur and about one-fifth in Sibsagar. In both districts they are old Burmese immigrants, who live near the frontier in the rest of the Brahmaputra Valley they are Bhutia traders who had not returned to the hills before the census day - their number elsewhere is negligible.

50 I have left Hindus to the last, though they are the largest community in the province, for the reason given at the beginning of this chapter. They form over 70 per cent of the population of the Brahmaputra Valley, 47 per cent of that of the Surma Valley,

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and one-quarter of that of the Hills. The difference between the two valleys is due to the former conversion of the greater part of the people of the Surma Valley to Muhammadanism. In the Hills more than half the population are Hindus in North Cachar and Manipur, but in the other districts their numbers are small. The number of Hindus has grown by 11.9 per cent since 1901 or 3.3 per cent less than that of the general population, and they have fallen back in comparison with Muhammadans, Animists, and Christians. In the province as a whole there are now 54 Hindus to 27 Muhammadans, while 10 years ago there were 56 Hindus to 26 Muhammadans, the causes of

the relatively greater progress amongst the latter have been referred to above. In the Brahmaputra Valley and in the Hills the rate of increase, though about 3 per cent less than that of the population as a whole, is nearly 16 per cent, but in the Surma Valley it is only 5.7 per cent, as it was in 1901. Turning to individual districts, we see that in every district of the Brahmaputra Valley except Goalpara the proportion of Hindus has fallen owing to the increase of Animists and, to a small extent, of Muhammadans. The figures of Goalpara have been explained above in connection with the decrease of Animists in that district. The same phenomenon appears in the Surma Valley, where it is due entirely to the expansion of the Muhammadans. In the Hills the proportion of Hindus has grown in the Garo Hills, which contains two plains mauzas, and in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, where the presence in Shillong of Government clerks is the main cause, but has fallen in all the other districts. The decrease is due to adventitious causes in North Cachar, where the building of the railway attracted outsiders in 1901, and to a certain extent in the Naga Hills, where the military strength has been reduced, but there has also been a development of Christianity. In Manipur the more accurate census of the hilly tracts has increased the proportion of Animists, and in the Lushai Hills conversions to Christianity have brought down the proportion of Hindus.

51 The circular of the Census Commissioner referred to above raised the question of the criterion by which a Hindu is identified as such. The opinions received were so divergent even regarding the ideas connoted by the word 'Hindu' that a discussion of them would be to little purpose. Sir Alfred Lyall in delivering the Rede Lecture at Cambridge in 1891 said —

If I were asked for a definition of Hinduism, I could give no precise answer, I could not define it concisely by giving its central doctrines and its essential articles of faith, as I might do in describing one of the great historical religions. For the word Hindu is not exclusively a religious denomination, it denotes also a country, and to a certain degree a race. When we speak of a

Christian or Mahomedan, or a Buddhist, we mean a particular religious community. In the widest sense without distinction of race or place. When we talk of a Russian or Persian, we indicate country or parentage without distinction of creed. But when a man tells me that he is a Hindu, I know that he means all three things together—Religion, Parentage and Country. I can be almost sure that he is an inhabitant of India, I know that he is an Indian by birth and descent; and as to his religion, the word Hindu, though it is rather indefinite, undoubtedly places him within one of the many groups or castes that follow the ordinances and worship the gods who are recognized by the Brahmanas.

The essential point of this description lies in the last few lines in order however to show how widely it may be interpreted, enquiries were made as to what castes and tribes returned as Hindus and contributing more than 1 per mille of population do not conform to certain standards or are subject to certain restrictions. It is probable that the list is not exhaustive, but so far as it goes, it will afford material for such conclusions as the reader may care to make—

I. Castes which deny the supremacy of the Brahmanas	1. Jagt	91,133	In Sama Valley only
	2. Bairab or Bairagi	11,341	Sangjogi sect; number unknown.
	3. Matak ...	9,24	
	4. Malsoporeshwa	500,000	In theory, but not now apparently in practice, a sect numbering probably 500,000.
	5. Ratibba	—	A sect number unknown.
II. Castes which do not receive the <i>sanctum</i> from Brahman or other recognised Hindu gurus	1. Muchi Chamar	15,614 54,234	
III. Castes which are not served by good Brahmanas & family priests	<i>I. In the Sama & Ney—all except Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaidyas, Kayasthas, Sudras, and the Kavamsa.</i>		1,030,342
	<i>II. I. & Brahmapur f Ney—</i>		
	1. Ahra ...	197,340	
	2. Bora	2140	
	3. Brittil Baniya	9,050	
	4. Chetia	55,334	
	5. Hir ...	16,313	
	6. Jagi ...	77,480	
	7. Kent ...	45,000	Only the Jallva section of the Kent caste: number estimated.
	8. Koch (Baro)	50,000	Number estimated.
	9. Nadiyal	63,222	
	10. Namadru	10,746	
	11. P. Jassi	181,614	
	12. Sabha ...	17,114	
	13. Samonia	12,- 3	
IV. Castes which have no Brahman priests till	1. Jagi ...	169,037	
	2. Matak ...	9,242	
	3. Brittil Baniya	90,1	
	4. Muchi ...	15,614	
	5. Chamar	51,234	

VI Castes which cause pollution by touch	1 Muchi	13,644	
	2 Chamar	54,234	
	3 Dhoba	33,855	
	4 Dom	29,456	
VII Castes which bury their dead	1 Jugi	150,000	In Brahmaputra Valley only the Kanikuria Jegis number estimated
	2 Buiragi	11,344	
	3 Chamar	54,234	

In the Brahmaputra Valley it is hard to say when the new converts definitely became Hindus, especially as many of them cling to their old habits of eating and drinking. I remember meeting some Miris in the east of Darrang, who told me that they continued to eat fowls and to drink liquor, though they had come under the tutelage of a Gossain, but were careful to avoid these infringements of his precepts in his presence when I questioned them as to why they became *bhakats* of a Hindu Gossain if they did not obey him in matters of food and drink, they said that they were strangers in a strange land, and unless they made some arrangement with the gods of the place or their representative, there was no knowing what evils might befall them hence they placed themselves under the care of the Gossain and paid him his annual fee in order to be on the safe side. No doubt in a few generations these people will have attained recognition as orthodox Hindus, but it is impossible to define the border line which they must cross. Amongst such people as these the missionary efforts of the Vaishnava Gossains of the Brahmaputra Valley have been very successful, but this subject has been treated so fully in the Census Reports of 1891 and 1901 that it is unnecessary to do more than mention it here.

52 One point in connection with the Vaishnavism of Assam is worth considering, *i.e.*, whether Sankar Deb, its founder, drew inspiration from Chaitanya, the great reformer of Bengal, as is stated in the last two Census Reports of Assam. The Society for the Improvement of the Assamese Language, Gauhati, has taken up the question and strongly objects to the accounts hitherto given. It claims that Sankar Deb was antecedent to Chaitanya in his birth and reforms. The four extant biographies of Sankar Deb place his birth in the year 1371 Sâk (1449 A.D.), whereas Chaitanya was born in 1467 Sâk and was 36 years younger. But as Sankar Deb is said to have lived 120 years, it has been assumed that either the date of his birth or that of his death is wrong. It is claimed that there is evidence that Sankar Deb began preaching first. It is stated by Gunabhiram that the Baro Bhuinya under Sankar Deb were subdued by the Ahoms in 1427 Sâk, though Tamuli Phukan omits to mention Sankar Deb in this connection. The accuracy of the latter's dates is apparently beyond dispute, and his omission of the name of Sankar Deb is attributed to the fact that he was a Sâkta and consequently refused to consider a Sudra like Sankar Deb a great man. There is little doubt that the Brahman influence, which soon divided the Vaishnavas of the Brahmaputra Valley into Bâmuniâs and Mahâpurushiâs, embittered the former, and it is not impossible that Tamuli Phukan's omission of the name of Sankar Deb was due to prejudice. If we accept the date 1427, we must conclude that Sankar Deb was actually preaching at a time when Chaitanya was only 20 years of age and had not yet received his call. The biographies of Sankar Deb state that he was educated in Assam in the *tôl* of Pandit Mahendra Kandali, and that he went on pilgrimage only twice in his life, first when he was forty and lastly when he was eighty years old at the time of his first pilgrimage. Chaitanya was only four years old, if we accept the date of Sankar Deb's birth. Neither of the reformers mention the other in his writings, and it is improbable that Sankar Deb would have omitted the name of Chaitanya, if the latter had been his *guru*. The above are the external grounds advanced by the Mahâpurushiâs. The internal evidence furnished by the difference in the teachings of the two reformers is stronger. Sankar Deb worshipped Vishnu alone, while Chaitanya worshipped Radha and Krishna. The exclusion of the female energy from the creed of the former is a most important distinction, moreover, Sankar Deb excluded females entirely, while Chaitanya admitted them as disciples. Lastly, there is a separate sect of Chaitanya Panthis in Assam. All this evidence, it is claimed, points to the inference that Sankar Deb was independent of Chaitanya and was not influenced by him. The present view to the contrary is not a recent one, but apparently arose soon after Sankar Deb's death perhaps owing to the quarrel between the Brahmans and the

Mahāparushīs, which is still in existence. It is not unnatural that the Bamunias should be reluctant to accept the claim that a Sudra was their founder but on the whole they are probably correct in their attitude.

53. Brahmins and Vaishyas, who wear the sacred thread should strictly perform Hindu worship. *sandhya* is to recite prayers three times a day at dawn, after bathing at noon and at sunset, but usually the morning

and the noon *sandhyas* are done together before the morning meal at the same time a libation of water is poured out in honour of deceased ancestors (*tarpas*) and the family idols are worshipped in the house. If the head of the Brahman household cannot or as in the case of some advanced persons, will not do this himself he must have the ceremonies performed by another Brahman. If the full *sandhya* is not performed, the saying of *Gayatri* a part thereof, is essential and is done by most Brahmins. Members of other high castes may possess family idols, provided that their worship is performed by a Brahman, but only rich people can entertain such priests. What idols are kept in the house depends on the sect of the householder. *Salagram* stones are common to all, but a Sufka will keep an image of Durga, a Saiva an image or *lingam* of Siva, and a Vaishnava images of Radha and Krishna in the Brahmaputra Valley most people do not keep any idol. One correspondent writes that in Sylhet non Brahman gentlemen of mature years are reluctant to go to sleep without reciting at least once the *mastra* received from their *guru*. Instead of the *sandhya*, etc. non Brahman Vaishnavas often chant hymns three times a day especially in the Brahmaputra Valley. Tending the *tulsi* plant is said to be an universal daily custom among the higher castes in Sylhet and Cooch Behar but in the Brahmaputra Valley it is usual in the month of Kartik only that lamps are lit before it. Lower castes have no daily worship. In the Brahmaputra Valley there is a public *Namghar* or house of prayer either in every village or reserved for two or three villages. It should not be confounded with the family *Thakurghar* or *Gossainghar* where the household idols are kept. Though the *Namghar* is public, Doms and Haris are not admitted at all and they as well as Ahoms, Boria, Chutias, Jugis, and Nats, who are not altogether prohibited from entrance, have usually separate *Namghars* of their own. The villagers assemble for prayer at the great festivals and on the appearance of epidemics.

The principal periodic festivals beginning from Baisakh, the first month of the Hindu year are as follows —

- (1) *Rath Jatra* in honour of Jagannath in the month of Akrur (2) *Jhulan Jatra* in Sraban and (3) *Jessavasati* in Bhadra, both in honour of Krishna (4) *Durga Puja* and (5) *Lakshmi Puja* in Asvin or Kartik, (6) *Kali Puja* and (7) *Jagaddhatri Puja* in honour of Durga and (8) *Rash Jatra* in honour of Krishna in Kartik (9) *Pars Sankranti* or *Magh Bihu* in Magh, (10) *Sareswati Puja* in Magh, (11) *Sibaratri* and (12) *Dol Jatra* in honour of Krishna in Phalguna and (13) *Chait Sankranti* or *Baleng Bihu* on the last day of the year

Brahman priests also celebrate at these periodic *pujas* which are usually celebrated in the houses of well-to-do Brahmins or high caste Sufkas, but the poorer castes often combine to hold a joint worship. It is impossible in the space at my disposal to discuss the ceremony customary on these occasions, but in the next paragraph is given an account of three *Bihus* of the Brahmaputra Valley.

In times of arid pre-dilete rainfall are prevalent. Kali is generally worshipped on the appearance of a leprosy *Shaka* in an outbreak of small pox. *Narayan* in times of drought. *Hupashibh* (Brahma) removes barrenness. Amongst the lower castes in case of sickness, ill and mosquito ghoos, which are known as *Bardianaria* and are supposed to be lab tree jars propitiated by offerings of flowers, eggs, rice flour, betel nut, and *pancham*; the ceremony usually takes place at night and includes the lighting of a lamp fed with mustard oil. In the Brahmaputra Valley the most common ceremony is the singing of hymns (*x wgoi*) and the reading of sacred books (*kha sara*). To gain any desired object or to overcome danger there is a special form of ritual called *Satra sara* or *Tekot sara* in which Vishnu only is worshipped. At the ceremony after the singing of hymns a paste made of rice flour mixed with *pancham* ghee, sugar and milk is offered to Vishnu and is then distributed amongst the people.

Male animals such as are offered to a number of deities, as that is gods, are slain in honour of Vishnu and Siva who also receives rams, Kali, Durga and Manisha receive goats, buffaloes, peacocks, ducks, rams and sometimes tortoises. The animals are

before being sacrificed. Near Bhumiagan hill outside Tezpur there is a temple called *Houwla te Dehata*, where human sacrifices took place in the worshipped Ahom king. It is said that young cowherds used to offer a grasshopper (small toads) there every day, using two blades of *bar nua* grass to perform the rite; the grasshopper was provided by each of the boys in turn, but one day none (*Garjan*) could find the grasshoppers and the cow herds decided that the boy who failed to procure it should sacrifice his life. It instead, and he was there and then sacrificed with the *baranga* could be replaced; human sacrifices were offered by the Raja of Jaintia in the temple he offered, and his territory was annexed in 1835 on account of his complicity in wars.

In some British subjects who were slain as offerings to Jaintia in Brahmaputra Valley there is no exception to the rule that in the worship that priest the priest must be a Brahmin. Brahmapras or Gurus officiate when the

In the worship amongst the lower castes the form of worship is usually of the lotus singing of hymns, of which in ordinary case may consist of simple rhythmic. In the Sutma Valley Jangs have their own priests in the case of prayer, and amongst the Naxi tribes especially one in a number of the caste often does the duty. In both cases they are degraded Brahmins who officiate at the meetings and other no-nest ceremonies of the lower castes.

In the Brahmaputra Valley there are three great *Bihu* or rural festivals the first is the *Ceastor Parag Bihu* or New Year's Day to celebrate return

of the people

of summer and the commencement of the agricultural year,

Bihu on the last day of Assan which signifies the completion of the sowing of the *Kharif* crops and the *Kachha Bihu* or harvest festival at the end of the reaping of the *Kharif* crops is said to be *kar gah* or full of amusement, the second *kart gah* or poor, of the *Chital Bihu* or full of good cheer. A common feature of all is that on the first *Bihu* the older people do not eat boiled rice, or meat, but live on salt fish (*ezra*), rice powder, rice gruel, or cakes made of rice flour, cards, etc. on *Bihu*. But on the night of that day they indulge in large quantities of rich parched puffed rice, fish, and meat, and hospitality is freely given to friends and guests.

The *Bihu* begins on the last day of Chaitra and lasts for the first seven days inclusive. On the morning of the first day the people smear turmeric and pulse on

The heads of the cattle and on themselves and then bathe the cattle in rivers or of Brahmaputra returning home, the younger people bow before their elders and receive the lot for the new year. A Brahmin will then perform *sandhya* and worship *Guru*. The old and the others sing hymns in honour of Lord Krishna to the accompaniment of cymbals and the clapping of hands. After this a meal of cakes, *chura*, the *don* or *on* — the kind of cake most in favour at the *Bihu* — *Bihu* is called the *bara* *pancham* *philo pitha* or *goru pitha*, it is a small round flat cake made of rice flour and rice is fried in mustard oil and it is called *goru pitha* because in the evening the *pitha* or *on* is fed with it. In the afternoon the young people indulge in sports, which suggest racing, *hulagazdu* (which corresponds to the English game of prisoners), bull-rams, and fighting for cocoanuts, etc. Brahman priests are in prayers on the leaves of include *peepal* tree, asking Mahadev to protect the houses from storms, and these leaves are throwing in the caves. The Acharyas or Brahmapras read the new almanac and the *rishi* who will be the king, who the *mantri* amongst the gods for the year, and what *prashasti* effects thereof, etc. New clothes woven at home are presented by the *deodara* to their husbands, brothers, and sons. In the evening all the cattle are given will be for tethering and before the cowshed a fire is made of paddy husks and some women until the smoke is fanned into the cowshed, the fans are washed beforehand new repainted into use from the next day, but no one can use them without having leaves, the smoke as above. In the night time parties sing hymns recounting the and lauds Krishna as the cowherd of Brindavan and visit the houses of the well-to-famed songs are accompanied by clapping of hands, drums, and cymbals. This first comes called the *Goru Bihu*, because the cows are anointed and bathed, and the next do the *Mahan Bihu*, because friends and relatives are entertained and every day is to enjoy himself as much as possible. The whole festival generally lasts for days and is hence called the *Bohag Bar Bihu*, but in some places it lasts for one month. After the first day youths and maidens dance together in the open even did courtships begin which often result in runaway marriages and so called nearly as by capture. The old people amuse themselves with buffalo fights, fields arming, and games of dice and cowries. But now-a-days the gaieties of the *Bihu* marriage less than formerly, in Lower Assam the youths and maidens no longer cock-slash together, though they still do so in Nowrang and Tezpur. In the days of the are muggings there used to be bull fights, falconry, contests with swords, spears, and dance to

The *Kati Bika* takes place on the last day of Asvin and is regarded as a poor one because there are no new food supplies at this time of the year but hospitality is dispensed at night to friends and relatives. The principal characteristic of this festival is the planting and worship of *talsi* plants. In the evening the newly planted *talsi* is worshipped by offering oblations and singing hymns and during the month of Kartik many people regularly light a mustard oil lamp before it.

For some time before the *Ayag Bika* sheds of a more or less unsubstantial character are erected in the fields by the boys of the village and fuel is stored in them. On the evening of the last day of Paus the boys assemble at those sheds and have a feast, the materials of which are provided by their parents and friends. After the feast they spend the whole night singing rustic songs²⁰ and dancing inside the sheds by the side of a fire. Early next morning after bathing they throw ghee on the roofs of the sheds, at the same time reciting *mantras* and then set them on fire. They then go home and bow before their parents and elders and are given cakes of various kinds and fruits to eat. As mentioned above, no boiled rice is eaten during the day; the favourite cake on this occasion is called *chunga pilka* which is prepared by baking rice flour in a hollow bamboo. So far as the boys are concerned, the festival seems to be a celebration by them of the termination of their duties as cowherds, as from this day the cattle are allowed to roam where they wish over the fields, but it is said that the burning of the sheds is an offering to *Agni* the god of fire, and it is certain that *Agni* is worshipped on that day by all householders, especially Brahmins, with offerings of ghee, cakes, fried rice etc. and recitations of *mantras* and some people, under the belief that they can increase the fruitfulness of betel nut, mango, and jack trees, etc., strike them on the *Bika* day with the half burnt bamboos of the sheds in which the boys pass the night.

65. The main sects of Hindus were described in the last Assam Census Report and
some Hindu sects. all that is attempted here is to supplement the information

Harki Kanner Dal has appeared in the Habiganj subdivision of Sylhet, the details of their form of worship are kept secret but they are said to laugh and cry alternately while sitting in a circle under the presidency of their *guru* and derive their name from this practice. The *Kiekori Bhakta* sect of Cachar still exists, it is said to be another form of *S. Leslie*; a detailed account of the sect is contained in Babu Akash Kumar Datta's *Uparak Sompradasa II*. The similar sect in the Brahmaputra Valley was referred to in the last Census Report under the name of Raikhou. It is divided into two sections, known as the Purnadharis and the Patimechis. Its founder is said to have been one Gopal Aita, a follower of Sankar Deb, who quarrelled with him and set up as an independent preacher at Nannati in Kamrup. His followers do not recognise the authority of the Vedas or the supremacy of the Brahmas and have no caste restrictions men and women worship together at night and observe no restriction in the matter of food or drink at the feasts which they hold on these occasions though outwardly they obey all the ordinary Hindu rules. The Patimechis differ from the Purnadharis in observing these rules in their assemblies, but are apparently just as lax in their morals.

In the Brahmaputra Valley generally Hindus are included in one of the following four Sanhatis or prescribed paths — Purusha Sanhati, Brahma Sanhati, Kala Sanhati, and Nika Sanhati. The Purusha Sanhati includes the Mahapurushis proper. The Brahma Sanhati includes the Damodaris and Harkiris, i.e., the followers of the Brahman reformers of these names, who deny that they owe anything to Sankar Deb. The Kala Sanhati is composed of sects which profess to be followers of Sankar Deb but are not Mahapurushis, i.e., the Meemaris and the Patimechis and the Purnadharis. Nika or White Sanhati is the name given to a more rigid sect of Mahapurushis.

Hindus in town are mainly Sikhs or Vaishnavas. Sifatism is unimportant. In spite of the apparent distinction between these two main sects, we find that they are not mutually exclusive and that a Vaishnava will worship Durga, Kali, and other deities of the Sakti cult and a Saka will not neglect the worship of Vishnu and the performance of *Jaden* and *Dal* which are essentially Vaishnava ceremonies. Generally however a Vaishnava abstains from a meat diet and does not sacrifice animals. It has been claimed that Vaishnavas are at heart monotheists and Saktis pantheists. Enquiries were made on this point and others concerning the differences between the two sects, but the replies are so vague that it is impossible to draw any conclusions from them.

²⁰ These songs are mostly believed to be originated after those of a famous chief poet-singer named *Devi* in the 15th century B.C. He is regarded as Jyoti-shastra's author and is very learned.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III
Christians, number and variations.

District and Sub-district Divisions.	Actual number of Christians in					Variation per cent.		
	1871	1881	1891	1901	1901-1911	1891-1901	1881-1891	1891-1911
1	3	3	4	5	+ 20-66	+ 113-84	117-71	87-99
ASSAM	—	—	61,361	81,969	101,844	7,185	+ 20-71	20-71
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	—	—	10,372	12,328	6,037	8,145	-57-92	+ 80-74
Gauhati	—	—	5,222	2,458	1,022	323	-50-27	-11-41
Kamrup	—	—	2,022	2,479	948	356	+ 23-13	+ 22-93
Darrang	—	—	1,912	1,238	945	371	+ 40-98	38-78
Morong	—	—	1,272	862	477	324	+ 42-30	64-17
Morigaon	—	—	6,018	8,462	1,363	864	+ 117-93	20-34
Lakshimpur	—	—	4,778	8,122	1,084	327	-57-88	97-97
BURMA VALLEY	—	—	2,622	1,261	1,423	1,214	-54-53	17-14
Cachar plain	—	—	1,117	967	865	763	-19-71	-18-29
Bylakuri	—	—	1,012	731	640	379	-30-22	-19-79
HILLS	—	—	41,961	21,742	8,573	8,811	+ 56-21	+ 123-52
Garo Hills	—	—	8,438	8,447	1,154	679	-49-13	388-03
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	—	—	21,227	17,222	7,144	8,197	-38-43	+ 143-03
North Cachar	—	—	64	62	1	2	-22-36	1,270-90
Naga Hills	—	—	3,208	681	221	33	-43-01	186-17
Manipur	—	—	123	43	—	7	-30-23	—
Lushai Hills	—	—	2,661	43	13	1,307-98	298-98	—

In the calculations for the Provinces as a whole and for Sub-district Divisions these areas for which figures are not available have been left out of account.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV
Races and Sects of Christendom (actual numbers).

Race	European		Anglo-Indian		Indian		Total		Varia-
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	1881	1901	
1	3	3	4	5	3	7	5	9	30
Anglo-Catholic	1,971	604	127	30	1,004	1,772	4,613	3,324	3,244
Protestant (including or not specified)	8	3	3	1	1	1,002	601	1,761	—
Anglican	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	—
Baptist	50	22	8	3	19	11,872	10,116	21,473	10,913
Congregationalist	15	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Greek	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lutherans	—	6	7	—	—	1,003	1,004	2,007	1,479
Methodist	7	4	3	—	—	29	7	36	11
Non-Protestant Dissenters	—	1	1	—	—	72	72	142	8,101
Free Church	—	—	27	27	163-3	16,075	31,354	16,304	16,310
Quaker	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Roman Catholic	—	32	32	111	37	1,214	1,123	2,737	1,472
Parsi and Zoroastrian	—	11	6	1	—	—	—	24	—
S. Indian	—	21	1	—	—	377	397	972	379
Total	—	1,126	627	574	364	30,724	27,674	68,397	36,370

Differences in numbers & equivalent Presbyterian bodies in Calcutta.

Calcutta 1871 = 1,000,000 equivalent Presbyterians in Calcutta in 1871.
Calcutta 1881 = 1,000,000 equivalent Presbyterians in Calcutta in 1881.
Calcutta 1901 = 1,000,000 equivalent Presbyterians in Calcutta in 1901.

CHAPTER V

AGE.

56. In this chapter the treatment of age statistics is limited to considering in a general way the conclusions which may be drawn from them on the subjects of the length of life and fertility of

Introductory

the people and the changes in their age distribution. Age in relation to sex, marriage education and infirmities is discussed in the chapters on these subjects. The statistics we are concerned with are contained in Imperial Table VII, there are ten Subsidiary Tables attached to this chapter of which the first six are deduced from the Imperial Table and the remaining four show birth and death rates as recorded.

57. Age statistics are probably the most inaccurate of any in every country in the world, so that the fact that the returns now under discussion are far from correct is a matter of no surprise. There are two kinds of error (1) mere want of accuracy which makes people plump on certain round numbers, especially multiples of ten, and (2) deliberate exaggeration or understatement. The principal examples of the latter are the tendencies to show unmarried females as under fifteen and elderly people and young wives as older than they really are. The first error can be removed by a method of smoothing the principle of which is to find the correct number at any age by adding together the numbers at the ages on either side of it and dividing the total by the number of age periods taken, for example, in smoothing for the accumulations on a multiple of 10 the numbers at the ages from 5 less to 5 more would be added together and the total divided by 11. The second error cannot be easily corrected. It may be stated at once that there is no intention of discussing in this chapter anything but the actual returns. The statistics of the main provinces of India are being examined in England by an eminent Actuary whose conclusions may be ready in time to be printed as appendix to this report.

The errors of arithmetical inaccuracy referred to above are very clearly brought out in Subsidiary Table I which shows the unadjusted ages by annual age periods of 100,000 of the population. The first thing to notice is the large number of infant under one year old in comparison with those between one and two. As has been pointed out in previous Census Reports, this is due to the fact that all babies which were still being suckled were regarded by the enumerators as infants—the word prescribed for use in the schedules for babies under one year. Three is a more popular age than any of those preceding it, and five is adopted with avility though there should be less children at that age than at any previous one. Eight is a good round number that appeals to people and, while nine is unpopular with both sexes, ten is adopted more by boys than by girls. The latter follow the boys, though to a less extent. In returning twelve and eighteen as their ages, but there are more girls at twenty the next point of accumulation than there are boys. In the next decade the popular ages are 25 and 30 though 23, 27 and 29 have a fair show of supporters. In the thirties, 31, 30, and 28 show high numbers. In the forties people seem to go in for general numbers and stick to the beginning and middle of the decade after that the decennial period is mostly returned, though the middle of it is not unpopular and 42 appears more often than 35. The figures for Hindus and Muhammadans follow the same course pretty well, but up to 50 the latter seem to be more addicted to fours and eights and less to twos than the Hindu, and after that they are more inclined to plump on multiples of five or tens. This may be due to the fact that they are more backward in intelligence.

The tendency to deliberate mis-statement amongst females is shown by the fact that the number of women aged 20— $\frac{1}{2}$ in 1911 is about 10 per cent larger than the number in 1901 while the set between 20 and 25 now are over 27 per cent more numerous than 21 to 25 in 1901. The excess of women between 20 and 30 now over those aged 10—20 years ago is 18 per cent. Looking to Subsidiary Table I we find that there are more girls than boys up to 3 years of age but then an increase to 10, then a fall except of girls at 11 the year before 1911. In the next ten years practically up to 50 for the small number return that is 119 in 1901. At 30— $\frac{1}{2}$ a large excess of women who are still water-tight is found up to 50 of which it falls away until we get to 55.

58. The error that results in the age distribution of the province from the extent of age distribution on top of immigration to the tea gardens has been referred to in the last two Census Reports and in 1901 was considered to be so great that the statistics of the tea districts were not discussed. In order to ascertain what the effect is likely to be, I have taken Sibsingar as a typical tea district and separated the garden figures from those of the district as a whole. It must of course not be forgotten that, as Mr. Gent noted in 1891, the number of ex-cookies who live outside the gardens is also likely to have some effect and it is impossible to obtain separate statistics for such people. It has been pointed out by Sundberg that in almost all countries the number of persons aged 15-50 is uniformly about half the total population, the number per 1,000 varying from 509 in South America to 492 in the Netherlands; in twenty instances emigration lowers the proportion slightly and immigration raises it unless the immigrants are married. In Sibsingar district as a whole the number aged 15-50 per 1,000 of the population is 506, but it is 587 on the tea gardens, the exclusion of which reduces it to 481 for the non-garden population. In the province as a whole the proportion is 493. The figures may be considered from another point of view. Sundberg has shown that when population is growing the number in the group 0-15 is higher than in the group 50 and over, and he instance Australia where there about 109 a. 10 15 against 100 aged 50 and over, whereas in France the two groups contain 276 and 222 respectively. In Sibsingar district as a whole the young group contains 111 per 1,000, while on the tea gardens it contains 353. The first part of the theory seems to fit in very well with the facts we find them and it would appear to follow from the second part that the tea gardens do contain great possibilities in the matter of natural growth of population.

59. Subsidiary Table IV gives the age distribution of a thousand persons of either sex in certain selected castes. What strikes one is

Age distribution of certain castes

that castes indigenous to the Brahmaputra Valley seem to have an unusually large number of children under twelve up to five years of age. The Kochis, Mikirs, Naiks, Ahoms, Kachis, Kowals and Koches are much more numerous in both sexes than castes common to the whole province or peculiar to the Surma Valley. Much the same result is obtained in the age period 5-12. It follows that there is an apparent excess of adults in the other castes and one would be inclined to infer that in the Brahmaputra Valley the people are prolific, but short-lived. I am not sure that this theory could be advanced with any certainty. It is not improbable that in the castes named above there is a greater tendency to inaccuracy than amongst the rest. The higher the caste, the greater should be the extent of accuracy, and it is remarkable how closely the figures for Brahmins and Kavishtas agree for both sexes, but this may be in part due to the fact that the condition of life in either caste is similar. But I am afraid, that apart from pure inaccuracy, I cannot put forward any reason to explain why fishermen, such as the Malas and Patnis of the Surma Valley and the Nadins of the Brahmaputra Valley, should show such large discrepancies. On the whole, the statistics for caste are perhaps rather disturbing than otherwise they are shown for comparatively small numbers, so that the likelihood of error is great, but they have the advantage of showing the need for basing theories on large numbers only, so that errors of inaccuracy may be reduced.

60. However wrong the actual age returns may be, it can be assumed that they are equally incorrect at each census and, therefore, that

Variations in age distribution

changes in the returns represent facts. Subsidiary Table II shows the age distribution of 10,000 by sexes for the last four decennial periods. It will be noticed that the regrettable decline in the number of young children which was referred to in paragraph 110 of the last report

	Male	Female
1901	1,622	1,638
1900	1,330	1,592
1891	1,610	1,644
1881	1,663	1,626

has ceased. The number of children under 5 in 10,000 of the population at the last four censuses is shown in the margin. It was inferred in 1901 that the result in that year was probably due to a diminution of the reproductive powers of the population owing to the general unhealthiness of the decade. But I am inclined to think that the result was not altogether attributable to this cause. It is quite true that the number of married females aged 15-40 fell, but it is a question how far this was due to the return as unmarried of *dharmikas*, i.e., women living with men without having gone through a formal ceremony. It was shown in paragraph 753 of the last India Census Report that famine in the Central Provinces cut off 21 per cent of the children under ten and

30 per cent of those over 60 between 1891 and 1901 while there had been an actual increase amongst those aged 1-10. A glance at Subsidiary Table VI which gives the variations of population at certain age periods will show that in Assam during the same period (1891-1901) the increase in the number of children was less than half that of the total population and there was a very heavy decrease amongst those aged 60 and over while persons in the prime of life increased by 10·5 per cent Kamrup and Nagaon were the districts which suffered most between 1891 and 1901 the heaviest percentages of loss in the former were amongst the old people and those aged 10-19 in Nagaon the losses in the reproductive period were 1·5% thus in any other while the tendency to a heavy mortality at the extremes of life also appears. The figures for both districts for 1891-1901 run on the same lines, and in the Surma Valley there is even now a decrease of almost 1 per cent in the age period 10-15 which would show that the mortality of children after the earthquake of 1891 must have been very great. Now on the contrary we find that children under 10 are more numerous by nearly 20 per cent, and elderly people by 16 to 18 per cent while the period 10-19 and the reproductive period 10-15 show increases of only 9·9 and 1·6 per cent, respectively against 1·9 per cent in the whole population. The increases, which are very large at the extremes of life are a little greater than the growth of population in the period 10-19 and less in the period 10-15 while the generation aged 10-15 which will constitute the greater part of the fathers and mothers at the next census, has fallen back, particularly in the Surma Valley. We may therefore expect a decrease in the birth rate and at the same time an increase in the death rate within the next few years, because there is now a greater population at the beginning and the end of life.

In view of the variations in the return of religion amongst Hindus and Animists which have been discussed in Chapter IV it is not very safe to draw dogmatic conclusions from the age distribution of the main religions given in Subsidiary Table III. It may be noted that the proportion of children amongst Muhammadans and Animists is much higher than amongst Hindus, a result which is not improbably due as was stated in 1901 to the fact that the majority of the immigrants are adult Hindus. Both the Hindu and Muhammadan figures for children aged 0-10 must be wrong again at this census because they are in excess of the number under five. There is an increase in the number of those under 10 amongst Hindus and Muhammadans but a small decrease amongst Animists.

Of Subsidiary Table I such materials for estimating the present capital will

to 213 since the last census and is now considerably greater than in 1891 if we confine ourselves to children under five their proportion is 118 against 103 in 1901 and 117 in 1891. In the last Census Report the decline in the number of children was ascribed to a decrease in fertility consequent on the unhealthiness which followed the earthquake. I have suggested above that the theory of diminished fertility is not the whole explanation of the shortage of children in 1901, and that we must not forget the heavy mortality in unhealthy years among those at the beginning of life. Even in 1901 the proportion of children amongst Khasis was considerably higher than the provincial average and it is now still more so. It will be noticed that the possible effect of matriliney was ruled in connection with the slow increase of the Khasi population at the last census, but there is no doubt (*i.e.* Chapter II) that Mr. Allen was correct in 1901 in considering the arrest to growth at that time as temporary. Hence, as far as the Khasis are concerned we cannot infer that matriliney has a deleterious effect on fecundity. At the same time it appears to be true that their easy system of divorce has some effect the Deputy Commissioner reports that a divorced woman often refrains from marrying again, either in the hope that her late husband will return or from the fear that she may be unable to support further additions to her family, for it is the mother and not the father who is responsible for the maintenance of the children. The matrilineal system is also found amongst the Gitos but unfortunately it is impossible now to distinguish between the hills and plains areas in the matter of age statistics, the latter are mainly inhabited by Muhammadans from the neighbouring districts.

63 In Subsidiary Tables II and III will be found the mean age of the population, calculated for the natural divisions and main religions at each census.

Each census since 1881 has attempted to smooth the figures because there is usually little difference between the unadjusted and the crude figures and our main object is to compare the variations. The mean age is the average age of the people alive at the time of the census if births and deaths were exactly equal, it would also be the mean duration of life. The mean age of the women appears to be always less than that of the men and remains unchanged since the last census, the male age has increased very slightly and is very little more than what it was in 1881, while the age of women has decreased since then. There is nothing remarkable in the very slight variation between the three natural divisions either amongst males or females. The mean age of Hindus is a little less than in 1901, but is still higher than that of Muhammadans or Animists, amongst both of whom it has risen. The fact that most of the immigrant are Hindus is responsible for the excess in that religion and it is no improbable that the increase amongst Animists is due to the more accurate record of religion amongst immigrants to tea gardens.

64 To calculate the birth and death rates from the age statistics is a difficult process, full of technical detail, and could be done only by birth and death rates in return.

It is fair to assume, however, that the birth rate depends mainly on the number of married women in the productive period from 15 to 49. The birth-rate calculated per 1,000 of the population must change according to the varying proportion which women of these ages bear to the total population. It must also be remembered that the published birth and mortality rates are calculated on the population at the previous census, with a growing population there should be an increase in the number of both births and deaths, though the latter would be less in number, while in a decadent period the number of deaths may actually decrease. The mean age at the Census of 1911 is 23.7 for males and 22.6 for females, as the population is growing, it may be assumed that the mean duration of life is greater than the mean age, and it may also be taken that there is on the whole a tendency to underestimate age. As a rough approximation we might assume that the mean duration of life is 25.5, this would give a death's rate of $\frac{1}{25.5}$ or 39.2 per mille per annum. We have seen that the natural growth of population has been over 1.5 per cent in the last decade, but, as I have pointed out in Chapter II, this is not normal, and it would perhaps not be excessive if we were to estimate 1.0 per cent as the average increase, *i.e.*, 10 per mille per annum. On this estimate the corresponding birth-rate shou'd be 49.2 per mille. I find in the Resolution on the Assam Sanitary Report for 1903 that the Chief Commissioner, after careful consideration of the results of the previous census, came to the conclusion that 45 per mille might be taken as the standard birth-rate of the province. It is clear, however, that the results of the census of 1901 were not any more normal than those of the present one, and it is possible that due consideration was not given to the age distribution at that time.

But even if the birth rate as then ascertained was correct at that time there is no reason why it should not change. In 1891 Mr Gait calculated the birth rate to be 49·3 per mille which practically agrees with my estimate, though it was based on a different method of calculation, of course in a matter of this kind it is impossible to ensure exactness, but I am inclined to think that in actual fact the rate is very much nearer 50 than 45.

Subsidiary Tables VII—X contain statistics of reported birth and death-rates. I have already referred in Chapter II to the inaccuracy of our vital statistics, but it is not waste of time to examine the figures in detail. It will be seen at a glance that the reported figures are very much below the true facts, even if we confine our attention to the excess of births over deaths. Comparing Subsidiary Tables VII and VIII we find that in the province as a whole the number of births per mille within the last ten years is greater than the number of deaths by 63 giving an average growth of 6 per mille per annum, which is equivalent to an increase of 6 per cent. in population by natural growth but in the areas for which vital statistics are recorded natural population has expanded by anything from 10 to 16 per cent. The inaccuracy is so great that there is the danger of inferring that the present system of collecting vital statistics is absolutely useless. Even though the actual figures and the differences between them are incorrect the statistics have at least the advantage of showing general tendencies. Subsidiary Table IX shows that the death-rate rose in 1903 and 1909 i.e. at the very beginning of the cholera outbreaks of those and the following years, while the high ratio of infant mortality disclosed though perhaps not absolutely correct, at least points to a general truth. Similarly though there is no doubt of the very great errors in diagnosis, Subsidiary Table X shows that broad facts are clearly brought out, not alone in regard to the general causes of mortality but also in the sex distribution.

There remains one small point in connection with the registration of births on tea gardens. Taking again Sibagur as a typical tea districts, I find that in 1911 there were 15,074 births recorded in the area exclusive of tea gardens and 1,610 within the latter. If we compare these figures with those of married women aged 15—40 we get a birth rate of 144 per mille of the latter in the tea gardens and of 206 outside. It is a debatable question how far this difference is due to the deliberate avoidance of child bearing (e.g., by abortion) or to defective registration. I have already remarked that the registration on tea gardens is really reliable only for Act VI coolies, and it is very probable, as was noted in the last Census Report (paragraph 50) that infants which die within a few months of birth are usually not brought on the books at all. The subject is one worth examination by the Sanitary Commissioner.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

Age distribution of 100,000 of each sex by annual periods

Age	Male			Female			Age	Male			Female		
	Hindu	Musal man	Both re- ligions	Hindu	Musal man	Both re- ligions		Hindu	Musal man	Both re- ligions	Hindu	Musal man	Both re- ligions
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
Total	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000							
0	3,463	3,207	3,433	3,603	3,609	3,604	51	190	147	123	215	147	226
1	2,187	2,149	2,182	2,270	2,334	2,278	52	526	537	527	478	212	448
2	3,633	3,793	3,651	3,639	4,228	3,723	53	142	114	133	150	103	159
3	3,074	4,520	3,783	3,931	4,016	3,631	54	215	99	227	201	114	271
4	3,635	3,842	3,602	2,401	3,803	3,500	55	793	781	791	653	530	610
5	4,178	4,330	4,196	3,776	4,114	3,814	56	376	342	372	203	24	257
6	3,036	3,060	3,033	2,930	3,207	2,971	57	212	212	212	163	114	157
7	3,034	3,467	3,056	2,060	3,412	3,018	58	494	244	464	468	372	474
8	3,918	4,314	3,904	8,329	3,754	3,977	59	144	98	188	352	147	183
9	2,028	2,116	2,033	2,009	1,843	2,001	60	2,133	2,360	2,159	2,231	131	1,096
10	3,560	3,646	3,570	2,840	3,207	2,000	61	107	49	100	235	2,563	496
11	1,363	1,074	1,329	1,030	1,143	1,575	62	187	130	180	244	204	323
12	3,403	3,012	3,413	2,293	2,187	2,281	63	56	49	55	120	65	113
13	1,111	749	1,069	1,098	947	1,091	64	00	49	85	330	65	30
14	1,624	1,623	1,647	1,390	1,437	1,403	65	307	374	815	291	163	276
15	1,805	1,840	1,809	1,107	1,355	1,215	66	58	58	51	54	49	53
16	1,942	1,774	1,923	1,733	1,453	1,701	67	71	49	68	101	65	97
17	1,001	733	973	1,135	718	1,058	68	129	147	131	155	181	152
18	3,493	2,605	2,500	2,227	2,451	2,26	69	56	65	57	68	63	68
19	700	653	762	882	718	863	70	446	453	451	490	632	509
20	2,953	3,174	3,006	3,610	4,554	3,750	71	59	53	59	10	82	20
21	631	391	603	1,303	604	1,229	72	103	63	99	80	71	
22	1,493	1,253	1,405	1,713	1,404	1,678	73	21	33	23	10	9	
23	730	680	718	844	840	633	74	28	25	8	..	7	
24	783	684	772	1,117	656	1,068	75	94	81	93	103	114	104
25	3,218	3,639	3,257	4,311	4,440	4,237	76	28	16	23	29	16	27
26	794	765	701	1,253	735	1,103	77	30	18	28	14	33	16
27	1,127	1,001	1,123	1,125	1,176	1,131	78	71	49	63	78	40	75
28	1,802	2,067	1,833	1,788	2,220	1,637	79	21	19	21	21	49	24
29	596	391	573	501	601	512	80	237	246	258	350	375	360
30	3,942	4,363	3,891	4,594	5,420	4,025	81	11	10	11	14	..	13
31	363	300	356	688	343	619	82	19	33	21	6	82	15
32	1,772	1,570	1,750	1,656	1,371	1,562	83	9	..	8	4	..	4
33	502	214	473	653	457	621	84	9	..	8	6	..	6
34	661	635	653	647	751	639	85	21	49	95	10	10	11
35	2,623	2,298	2,700	2,454	2,701	2,493	86	4	15	6	2	2	
36	1,046	781	1,024	898	571	660	87	6	..	6	4	..	4
37	620	440	510	507	393	574	88	9	..	8	8	..	7
38	1,617	1,074	1,465	1,323	947	1,231	89	13	..	11	2	..	3
39	470	537	478	616	583	611	90	19	40	23	27	62	73
40	4,309	4,330	4,311	3,501	4,597	3,977	91	9	..	2	..	..
41	253	27	258	606	150	539	92	2	18	4	..	..
42	700	505	758	705	424	754	93	2	..	2	..	..
43	221	163	214	313	63	285	94	2	..	2	..	..
44	25	27	275	532	220	320	95	2	..	2	..	..
45	1,895	2,140	1,914	1,454	1,453	1,453	96	4	16	6	5	..	
46	202	179	278	231	16	207	97	4	..	4	..	..
47	376	433	352	210	131	201	98	4	..	4	..	..
48	933	781	916	639	506	677	99	..	..	..	..	..
49	235	823	252	234	310	287	100 and over	13	..	11	..	..
50	3,370	3,700	3,424	2,973	3,279	3,019						33	

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

Age distribution of 10 000 of each sex in the Province and each Natural Division.

FIG. 2.—The same as Fig. 1, rotated 90° so the transverse axis lies

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III

Age distribution of 10,000 of each sex in each main religion

(1) HINDU

Age	1901		1901		1891		1881	
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Total	-	-	-	-	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
0-5	-	-	-	-	1,744	1,743	1,500	1,471
5-10	-	-	-	-	1,477	1,471	1,301	1,271
10-15	-	-	-	-	1,022	942	1,113	1,079
15-20	-	-	-	-	745	811	733	816
20-25	-	-	-	-	730	711	838	831
25-30	-	-	-	-	1,020	1,024	1,019	1,019
30-35	-	-	-	-	1,020	1,010	1,017	1,017
35-40	-	-	-	-	1,020	1,021	1,017	1,017
40-45	-	-	-	-	1,020	1,021	1,017	1,017
45-50	-	-	-	-	1,020	1,021	1,017	1,017
50 and over	-	-	-	-	1,020	1,021	1,017	1,017
Unspecified	-	-	-	-	1,020	1,021	1,017	1,017
Mean age	-	-	-	-	211	209	210	209

(2) MUSLIM

Total	1901		1901		1900		1900	
	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
0-5	-	-	-	-	1,711	1,762	1,517	1,520
5-10	-	-	-	-	1,710	1,698	1,531	1,521
10-15	-	-	-	-	1,172	1,022	1,261	1,021
15-20	-	-	-	-	770	822	783	830
20-25	-	-	-	-	2,013	1,978	1,937	1,931
25-30	-	-	-	-	1,727	1,676	1,829	1,824
30-35	-	-	-	-	1,727	1,676	1,829	1,824
35-40	-	-	-	-	1,727	1,676	1,829	1,824
40-45	-	-	-	-	1,727	1,676	1,829	1,824
45-50	-	-	-	-	1,727	1,676	1,829	1,824
50 and over	-	-	-	-	1,727	1,676	1,829	1,824
Unspecified	-	-	-	-	1,727	1,676	1,829	1,824
Mean age	-	-	-	-	210	209	210	209

(3) ANGLO-INDIAN

Total	1901		1901		1900		1900	
	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
0-5	-	-	-	-	1,718	1,760	1,715	1,712
5-10	-	-	-	-	1,705	1,674	1,689	1,670
10-15	-	-	-	-	1,020	944	1,017	918
15-20	-	-	-	-	710	830	687	631
20-25	-	-	-	-	2,038	1,935	2,043	1,981
25-30	-	-	-	-	1,73	1,656	1,566	1,380
30-35	-	-	-	-	678	672	413	410
35-40	-	-	-	-	678	672	413	410
40-45	-	-	-	-	678	672	413	410
45-50	-	-	-	-	678	672	413	410
50 and over	-	-	-	-	678	672	413	410
Unspecified	-	-	-	-	678	672	413	410
Mean age	-	-	-	-	23.6	23.0	23.2	22.8

NOTE.—The mean ages are worked out on the unsmoothed figures.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI
Variation in population at certain age periods

District and Natural Division	Period	Variation per cent in population (increase + decrease →)							District and Natural Division	Period	Variation per cent in population (increase + decrease →)						
		All ages	0-10	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50 and over			All ages	0-10	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50 and over
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
Assam	1891-1891	+10%	+2%	+21%	+11%	+7%	+6%		Cachar plains	1891-1891	+55%	+10%	+44%	+32%	+17%	-10%	
	1901-1901	+6%	+2%	+5%	+10%	+4%	-1%			1901-1901	+12%	+7%	+20%	+14%	+14%	+6%	
	1901-1911	+1%	+1%	+1%	+1%	+1%	+1%			1901-1911	+13%	+2%	-1%	+0%	+10%	+2%	
Brahmaputra Valley	1891-1891	+10%	+4%	+23%	+9%	+16%	+15%		Sylhet	1891-1891	+0%	+11%	+10%	+10%	+7%	-5%	
	1891-1901	+2%	+3%	+2%	+10%	+3%	-13%			1891-1901	+4%	+4%	+3%	+8%	+5%	-1%	
	1901-1911	+1%	+2%	+2%	+1%	+1%	+1%			1901-1911	+10%	+14%	-1%	+6%	+11%	+7%	
Goalpara	1891-1891	+1%	+1%	-1%	-1%	+6%	+10%		Hills	1891-1891	+15%	+16%	+30%	+9%	+17%	+2%	
	1891-1901	+2%	+6%	+1%	+1%	+1%	-1%			1891-1901	+11%	+4%	+1%	+17%	+10%	-4%	
	1901-1911	+2%	+3%	+2%	+2%	+2%	+2%			1901-1911	+15%	+23%	+27%	+12%	+10%	+20%	
Kaziranga	1891-1891	-1%	-6%	+14%	-3%	-23%	+17%		Daro Hills	1891-1891	†	†	†	†	†	†	
	1891-1901	-1%	-3%	-11%	-6%	-20%	-21%			1891-1901	+13%	+17%	+21%	+12%	+4%	+8%	
	1891-1911	+1%	+1%	+8%	+1%	+1%	+1%			1891-1911	+14%	+11%	+16%	+11%	+14%	+8%	
Darrang	1891-1891	+1%	+2%	+2%	+1%	+1%	+1%		Khasi Hills and Dihing Hills	1891-1891	+17%	+17%	+3%	+11%	+9%	+8%	
	1891-1901	+2%	+2%	+41%	+12%	+15%	+15%			1891-1901	+2%	-1%	+7%	+9%	-1%	+7%	
	1891-1911	+2%	+2%	+2%	+2%	+2%	+2%			1891-1911	+16%	+22%	+9%	+13%	+17%	+7%	
Nameri	1891-1891	+1%	+1%	-21%	-11%	-10%	-23%		North Cachar	1891-1891	-5%	-1%	-7%	-12%	-6%	+3%	
	1891-1901	+1%	+1%	+1%	+1%	+1%	+1%			1891-1891	+6%	+21%	+3%	+10%	+10%	+3%	
	1891-1911	+1%	+2%	+2%	+1%	+1%	+1%			1891-1911	-3%	+10%	-2%	-6%	-3%	+6%	
Faktola	1891-1891	+2%	+2%	+2%	+2%	+2%	+2%		Naga Hills	1891-1891	†	†	†	†	†	†	
	1891-1901	+2%	+2%	+2%	+2%	+2%	+2%			1891-1891	+6%	-9%	+2%	+3%	+2%	+6%	
	1891-1911	+2%	+2%	+2%	+2%	+2%	+2%			1891-1911	+6%	+51%	+51%	+27%	+47%	+90%	
Lakhimpur	1891-1891	+1%	+2%	+2%	+1%	+1%	+1%		Jaintia Hills	1891-1891	†	†	†	†	†	†	
	1891-1901	+1%	+2%	+2%	+1%	+1%	+1%			1891-1901	+21%	+23%	+43%	+18%	+11%	+6%	
	1891-1911	+1%	+2%	+2%	+1%	+1%	+1%			1891-1911	+21%	+23%	+43%	+18%	+11%	+6%	
Sarma Valley	1891-1891	+1%	+2%	+2%	+1%	+1%	+1%		Jorhat Hills	1891-1891	†	†	†	†	†	†	
	1891-1901	+1%	+2%	+2%	+1%	+1%	+1%			1891-1891	+5%	+5%	+5%	+5%	+5%	+	
	1891-1911	+1%	+2%	+2%	+1%	+1%	+1%			1891-1911	+10%	+5%	+27%	+8%	+14%	+1%	

† Figures are not available.

* (xx) — Unique G.O. figures are omitted from figures of all ages for 1891.

Note 2 — In the calculation for the Lakhimpur area as a whole no Natural Division areas for which figures are not available have been left out of account.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII
Reported birth-rate by sex and Natural Divisions

Number of births (per 1000) of total population (Census of 1901)

Year	Province	Brahmaputra Valley		Sarma Valley	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6
1901		19	16	16	19
1902		18	17	16	19
1903		18	17	17	19
1904		18	17	17	19
1905		19	18	18	18
1906		19	17	19	17
1907		18	17	19	18
1908		20	19	20	19
1909		18	17	18	19
1910		19	18	19	17

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII
Reported death rates by sex and Nationalities

Year,	Number per 1,000 of total population (Census of 1901).											
	Provinces.		Subsequent Tables.		Series Table		Provinces.		Subsequent Tables.		Series Table	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1901	—	—	29	22	27	20	30	23	29	23	29	23
1902	—	—	29	22	28	21	28	21	28	21	28	22
1903	—	—	27	21	25	20	26	21	27	22	27	22
1904	—	—	26	20	24	22	26	22	27	22	27	22
1905	—	—	25	20	20	19	20	19	27	22	27	22
1906	—	—	21	21	17	18	21	21	21	24	21	24
1907	—	—	23	23	29	29	22	22	23	23	23	23
1908	—	—	23	23	41	42	21	21	21	21	21	21
1909	—	—	22	22	24	24	21	21	21	20	21	20
1910	—	—	21	22	31	23	24	21	24	21	24	21

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX.

Reported death rate by sex and age—decade and at selected years per million living at same age according to the Census of 1901.

Age	Average of decade.		1901.		1902.		1903.		1904.		1905.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
All ages ...	—	29	22	23	16	25	23	23	23	23	23	23
0-5	79	71	73	63	78	71	70	61	87	87	81	81
5-10	13	13	12	10	14	13	12	10	10	14	13	13
10-15	—	12	12	11	10	12	12	10	10	14	13	13
15-20	—	17	23	16	20	17	22	16	17	15	17	17
20-25	—	19	22	17	20	18	17	16	18	19	19	19
25-30	—	19	22	17	20	18	17	16	18	19	19	19
30-35	—	19	22	17	20	18	17	16	18	19	19	19
35-40	—	19	22	17	20	18	17	16	18	19	19	19
40-45	—	19	22	17	20	18	17	16	18	19	19	19
45-50	—	19	22	17	20	18	17	16	18	19	19	19
50 and over	—	70	65	61	51	67	61	60	66	61	60	61

SUBSIDIARY TABLE X

Reported deaths from certain diseases per mille of each sex

Age		Whole province				Actual number of deaths in			
		Actual number of deaths		Ratio per mille of each sex		Brahmaputra Valley		Barma Valley	
		Total	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
		1	2	4	5	6	7	8	9
Cholera—									
1901		7,468	3,911	3,524	15	11	1,776	1,711	2,168
1902		12,058	6,329	6,330	23	25	1,502	1,488	4,826
1903		8,360	4,326	4,034	16	16	2,833	2,657	1,493
1904		6,569	2,857	2,731	11	11	661	630	1,906
1905		22,893	11,345	11,633	42	45	6,251	6,381	5,001
1906		33,682	16,605	17,077	62	67	12,696	13,112	8,900
1907		8,892	4,618	4,241	17	17	1,457	1,460	3,101
1908		22,350	11,682	10,607	42	42	7,323	7,308	4,259
1909		6,081	4,210	3,863	16	15	2,005	1,844	2,214
1910		34,612	17,180	17,362	63	68	7,171	7,033	9,059
Small pox—									
1901		3,274	1,695	1,679	0.6	0.6	318	332	1,377
1902		6,073	3,409	3,264	1.3	1.3	118	186	3,201
1903		1,111	670	541	0.2	0.2	172	167	398
1904		1,659	798	761	0.8	0.8	760	742	38
1905		2,220	1,162	1,067	0.4	0.4	1,149	1,068	13
1906		2,934	1,588	1,400	0.6	0.6	1,656	1,384	83
1907		4,253	2,269	1,984	0.8	0.8	2,170	1,895	99
1908		4,699	2,478	2,124	0.9	0.8	2,338	2,012	137
1909		8,113	4,003	1,504	0.6	0.6	1,540	1,440	60
1910		1,927	970	957	0.4	0.4	860	831	110
Fever—									
1901		83,606	11,755	33,941	16.5	15.2	25,700	22,743	18,986
1902		77,679	41,732	36,947	15.3	11.1	23,961	20,970	17,771
1903		75,004	39,666	36,338	14.6	13.8	23,829	21,195	16,887
1904		71,171	37,503	33,608	13.8	13.2	23,008	20,781	14,405
1905		67,661	35,618	32,133	13.1	12.6	23,081	20,757	12,437
1906		70,633	37,266	33,427	13.7	13.1	21,891	22,265	12,875
1907		71,117	38,612	35,605	14.2	13.0	25,386	23,433	13,256
1908		67,961	50,492	47,469	18.6	18.6	31,424	30,102	19,068
1909		103,430	63,971	49,456	19.9	19.3	31,193	29,250	22,781
1910		87,380	46,493	41,807	16.7	16.1	20,158	24,424	19,830

CHAPTER VI

SEX

65. The number of females per mille of males in Assam is 940; in India as a

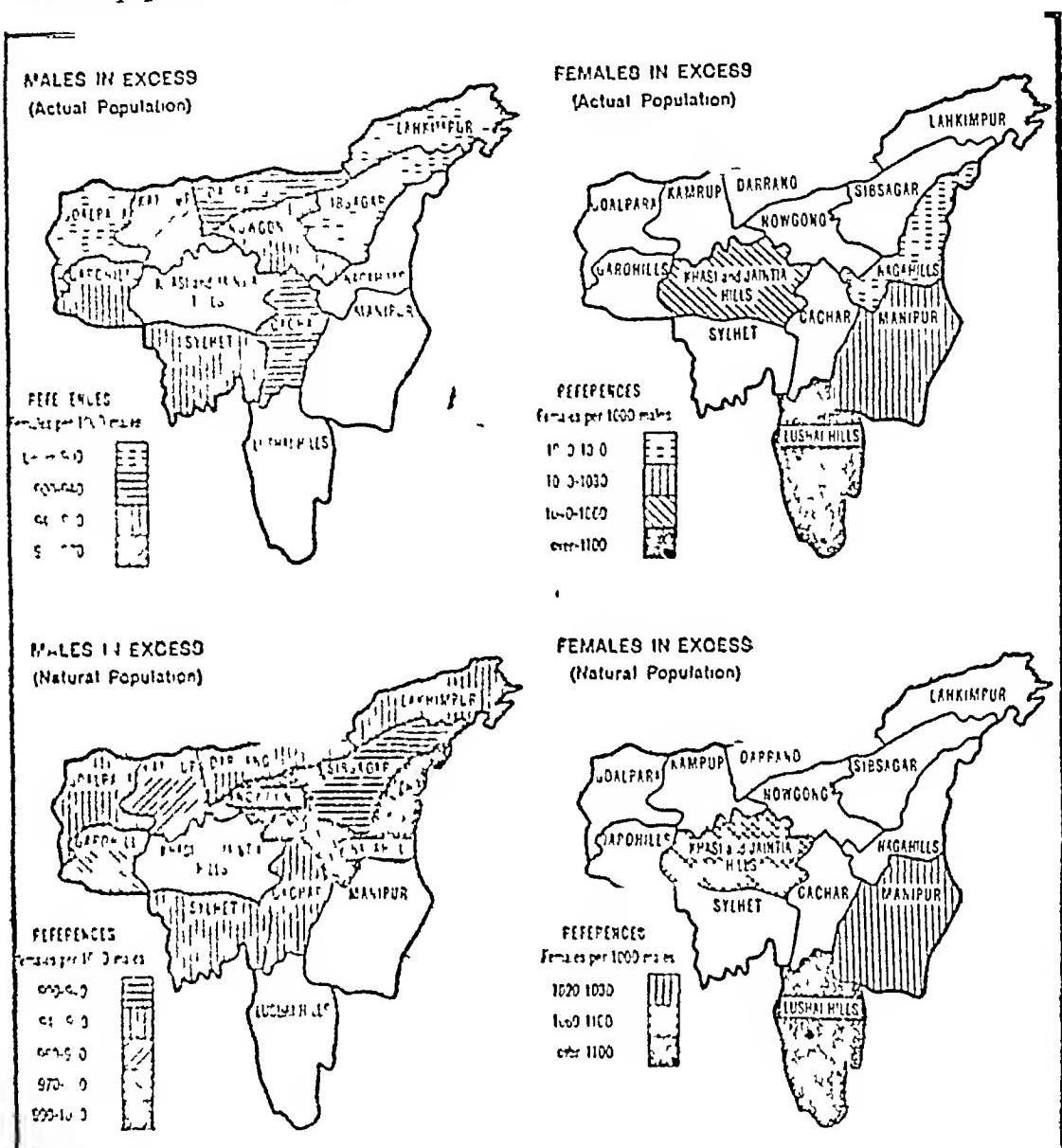
General proportion of the sexes. whole it is 963. To persons accustomed to European statistics these proportions are somewhat startling. If we exclude the south-eastern corner there is an excess of

females in every country of Europe for example at the census of 1911 for every thousand males there were 1,039 females in England and Wales, 1,003 in Scotland 1,004 in Ireland, 1,031 in Denmark, and, at the census of 1910 1,048 in Germany. But in Servia, Bulgaria, Rumania and Greece the proportion of females varies from 916 to 936, and as one goes further eastwards the number of women seems to continue low. In 1907 the Egyptian census showed 892 females to a thousand males and in 1897 those of the Caucasus and Siberia showed 897 and 935 respectively. In the United States of America the proportion of females in 1910 was 943 this is usually explained as being exceptional and due to the great number of males amongst the immigrants, but it appears that amongst the native white population born of native parents there are 101 males for every 100 females, while the negro population shows a slight preponderance of females. There is no doubt that some part of the excess of females in western Europe is due to the greater emigration of men, but we are left with the facts that the European statistics of sex as a whole are in direct opposition to those for India in general and Assam in particular. It may be objected that the population of Assam owes so much to immigration that the actual figures should not be accepted as representing the normal, but if we turn to those of the natural population, we find that the position is not so very different, though there is an increase from 940 to 963 in the proportion of females to 1,000 of the other sex.

66. Taking actual population we find in Subsidiary Table I statistics generally

Proportions by locality corresponding to those of the province as a whole for the plains, where the female proportions are 913 in the Brahmaputra Valley and 913 in the Surma Valley; on the other hand, the figures of the Hills show the substantial female excess of 26 per mille of males. The very great effect of immigration in the Brahmaputra Valley is clear from the fact that the number of females rises from the actual figure of 913 to 938 for the natural population. In the Surma Valley there is a corresponding increase from 943 to 949 and in the Hills from 1,048 to 1,010. The actual proportion of women is below 900 in Goalpara, Sibnagar and Lakhimpur, just 903 in Darrang and only 910 in Cachar; these are districts which contain large numbers of immigrants, and Subsidiary Table III to Chapter III tell us if we exclude Sibnagar the statistics for natural population also show the proportion of females to figures ranging from 913 in Lakhimpur to 949 in Cachar but the number of district born seem as in Sibnagar remains extraordinarily low. Males are also in excess in the actual population of Sylhet, Garo Hills, Nongkraing and Karimpur the proportion of females varying from 910 to 979; in Garo Hills and Nongkraing the figures for natural population show a male increase of 17 and 49 per mille of males respectively but in Sylhet and Karimpur there are reduced male numbers from 919 to 916 and from 933 to 944, which are due to the greater male ratio of male to neighbouring districts as will be seen from the sex proportions given in Subsidiary Table II to Chapter III. It may be noted with regard to these two districts that their results with more glaring contrasts appeared at the last census on 11 statistics of Garo Hills are somewhat confused owing to the difference in the

populations of the hills and the plains mauzas, in each of the other hill districts there is in the actual population an excess of females which is changed to a small deficit for natural population in Naga Hills on account, here also, of male emigration.



C7 Subsidiary Tables II and III enable us to compare the sex proportions in the main religions. In the province as a whole the actual proportion of women is 922 among Hindus, 930 among Muhammadans and 1,022 among Animists, and the relative positions of the three religions in this respect are unchanged since 1891 for the province taking the natural population only, the proportions rise to 955, 952 and 1,030 respectively. When we turn to locality, we find that it is only in the Surma Valley that the Muhammadan proportion of females exceeds that of Hindus, both in actual and natural population, in the Hills the majority of the local people are Animists or Hindus not far removed from Animism and so we find a preponderance of females amongst Hindus in the natural population. In all three natural divisions women are most numerous among Animists and are in excess amongst them in natural as well as actual population, except in the Brahmaputra Valley, where the influence of Hinduism has exactly the same effect as Animism on the so called Hindus of the Hills.

Subsidiary Table IV gives the proportions of females for selected castes native to the province, but those for Brahmans, Baidyas, Kayasthas, Gealas, Tantis and Telis are probably affected by immigration and may be left out of account. Excluding Khasis, Kukis and Lushais, which reproduce the Animistic excess of females, we find that the only purely native caste in which the males are in a minority is the Manipuri Kshatriya, which is not very different from Animist tribes in customs concerning

females. The castes have been divided into three groups based on the rates of social prevalence which were prescribed in the last Census Report. I do not think that we can draw any exact inferences from the figures as they stand—the proportion of females is only 903 and 939 amongst the Sattradhars and the Orah Kurbattis, against 922 amongst the Malos and 963 amongst the Barus of the Surma Valley while in the Brahmaputra Valley it is only 931 amongst the Kaltas in comparison with 900 amongst the Kochs and 976 amongst the Nadisks. Perhaps on the whole we may conclude that generally there is a tendency for females to be more numerous in the lower castes than in the higher and in the Brahmaputra Valley than in the rest of the plains, but the statistics show exceptions, e.g. the proportions in the Bhulamali, Malo, Namsudra and Sattrabar—all inferior castes of the Surma Valley—are low and so are those of the Ahoms and Chatras of the Brahmaputra Valley. The age statistics of castes are discussed in the following paragraph.

68 In Subsidiary Tables II, III and IV the statistics are given by age-periods.

Proportions at different ages. We have an apparent excess of females up to the age of 5 but between 5 and 10 an excess of males, which is further accentuated between 10–15 at the next two quinquennial periods; females are in excess, but are again in deficit between 23 and 30. These features hold good for the province for each natural division, excluding the Hills in the last period and, if we except Animists in the same period and Hindus and Muhammadans in the Hills, where their actual statistics are vitiated by immigration, for each main religion also in every part of the province. The net result is that up to 30 years of age females are in slight excess in the total population, in marked excess among Animists, almost on equality with males among Muhammadans, and in considerable deficit among Hindus; the excess among Animists is reproduced in each natural division, there is a moderate excess of Muhammadan females in the Surma Valley while the deficit among Hindus is more marked in the Brahmaputra Valley where immigration has an important effect. After 30 we find an excess of males in the total population, which is true for each natural division and for each religion in the province, but there is a moderate excess of females in the Animists of the Hills; it is only in the period of 60 and over that the proportion of females is high but it is greater than that of males only among Hindus and Animists, of whom the former show excesses of females in the Surma Valley and the Hills and the latter in the Hills only.

The caste statistics reproduce the above figures on the whole. It is only amongst the Teli, Dholia, Garo, Kumhars and Manipuri Kshatriyas that males are more numerous in the first quinquennial period. Between 5 and 10 females are in excess amongst the Balidas, Goalas, Chasi Kalbartas, Kapita, Teli, Kumhars, Lachais and Malos but they are in marked deficit amongst the Bhulamalis, Dholas and Rajbansis. Between 10 and 15, the age of the young bride in the Surma Valley and amongst the high castes of the Brahmaputra Valley, the proportion of girls is very low and is above 900 only amongst the Tantis, Kacharis, Kukis and Miskirs of the castes which agree with the majority in showing a deficit of females while males are in a minority only among the Garos, Khasis, Lushais and Manipuri Kshatriyas. In the following five years females are mostly in excess and are in a marked minority only amongst the Chasi Kalbartas, halitas and Kowatis. Between 20 and 40 the latter caste shows a large excess of females, but the proportion amongst Chasi Kalbartas continues very low; the general tendency is for the males to predominate but they are in a minority amongst the Kamaras, Kewatis, Koches, Tantis, Garos, Khasis, Kukis, Kumhars, Lachais, Manipuri Kshatriyas and Naddis of the indigenous castes unaffected by immigration; males are in a large majority amongst the Chasi Kalbartas, Ahoms, Malos and Sattrabars. Over 40 women are in deficit except among the Khasis, who show an excess at every age period except 5–10¹ the Lushais, whose females are in a majority at every period of life and the Manipuri Kshatriyas, amongst whom there is a slight deficiency of girls up to 12 years of age.

A reference to the statistics of marriage amongst Hindus at 1², which are distributed in the following chart will show that the proportion of married girls aged 5–12 is exceptionally high among the Bhulamali, Dholas and Rajbansis—the castes which show a marked deficit of females at this age. In the five other castes mentioned as containing a high proportion of such young wives, i.e., Tantis, Teli, Namsudra, Baru and Malo, we find a very marked deficit of girls between 5 and 12 except in the Teli and Malo which have excesses. I think that it is an unavoidable inference to make from these figures that there is a tendency among Hindus to consider the real age of a girl uppermost in the case of marriage. This would explain the deficiency of females due on the surplus male population, since there is no

natural and it is not surprising to find it intensified amongst Muhammadans and appearing among Animists even in the Hills, though those who are free from Hindu influences, such as the Gonds, Khatis, Lushais, and the Manipuri Kshatriyas have no prejudices on this point. If the cause were a tendency to conceal the existence of females, we should expect to find a deficiency of young women among Muhammadans, but the figures for them in the Siang Valley, which we are relieved from the necessity of considering the effect of migration, show an excess of females up to 30 years of age.

69 In Subsidiary Tables V and VI are given (1) the actual number of births and deaths reported in the plains for either sex in the last two decades and (2) the number of deaths by sex at different ages between 1905 and 1909. From what I have said in paragraph 61 of the last chapter it is clear that, though our vital statistics are very incomplete, they indicate broad facts, but it should not be forgotten that they apply to the plains only without therefore examining the figures in great detail, we can deduce from them some general inferences. First, we may assume that more males are born than females, the proportion of the latter being 929 per mille of males between 1891 and 1900 and 934 in the last decade, these figures are a trifle below the standard accepted for Europe (918), so that we have apparently in Assam a greater number of male births, but I would not place too much stress on the exact figure and would rest content with the broad fact. Secondly, it appears that there are more deaths amongst males than amongst females but the mortality proportion of the latter per mille of male deaths varied from 883 between 1891 and 1900 to 923 in the last decade, when the proportion of females at birth was only 6 per mille of males more than at death. It is not impossible that female mortality was not so fully reported before 1900 as in the last ten years, but we may assume a tendency to greater mortality amongst males this also agrees with European statistics.

Looking to the age statistics in Subsidiary Table VI, we find a moderate excess of female deaths between 1 and 5 and large excesses at the age periods 15—20 and 20—30 these proportions, it will be noted, are repeated in every year. Here we are faced with the double chance of inaccuracy, i.e., in the reported number of deaths and in the reported ages, but again I should accept the salient figures as approximately correct in indicating greater mortality amongst females, at least in the child-bearing period.

The question now arises as to how we can reconcile the proportions given in the census figures with those of the vital statistics. In every part of the province we have found an excess of females up to 5, and, as the only objection raised by European critics to our sex proportions is based on the supposed omission of females, an excess of the latter is not in itself a matter of suspicion. This being so, it might follow that the excess of males at birth is changed to a deficit at an earlier period than in Europe, where females do not begin to predominate before the age of fifteen. The cause of the change in proportions is due to the relatively greater mortality amongst males at the earlier years of life, which is an established fact in every country. It is more probable, however, that the cause of the apparent excess of females up to 5 years of age is the deliberate misstatement of the ages of girls who have not yet reached the age of marriage. Special enquiries were made as to whether female children are as well cared for as males in the Brahmaputra Valley and the Hills, where the custom of bride price is common, a girl is in many ways more desirable than a boy, but there is no doubt that amongst Hindus a girl is always looked on more or less as an alien to the family, because on marriage she leaves the clan and so is called *parerjan* or belonging to a stranger. There is a proverb which says that a daughter's son holds an umbrella over the funeral pyre of his maternal grandparents, but a son's son lives through eternity, i.e., the duty of a daughter's son ends with the death of the grandparents, but the duty of a son's son lasts for ever. There is no question of there being any traces of infanticide now, but there is an undoubted tendency among people in the plains to be less careful of female infants than of males the desire for male children, which is common in every country, is intensified among Hindus by their religious obligations and among Muhammadans by their religious beliefs. We can then infer from this fact and from the excess of male births that the predominance of females up to 5 disclosed by the census figures is not correct, indeed it is not improbable that the excess of female deaths between 1 and 5 shown by the vital statistics more nearly represents facts, because there is no special reason why the age of the dead should be deliberately concealed.

Once we get beyond the marriageable age the tendency is to exaggerate the age of the bride. We have excesses of females in the age periods 15—20 and 20—30 and apparently a much greater mortality amongst women between 15 and 30. Here again I should be inclined to infer that the ages given in the death statistics are probably nearer the truth and the obvious inference is that child bearing in immature wives, who are handicapped by the climate of the plains, leads to a high death-rate.

70. The conclusions arrived at above are that there is a tendency to be less careful in the proportions of female infants than of males and that there is a big mortality of females in the child-bearing period. The latter may be due to premature sexual intercourse, unskillful midwifery, abortion, e.g., in the case of pregnant widows, wrong treatment of women at puberty during the menstrual periods and after child birth the hard life of widows where their re-marriage is forbidden, and the hard labour which women of the lower classes are compelled to perform. It is argued however by certain German critics that, important as these factors are, they are not sufficient to account for the defect of females and they point to (i) the probability of the omission of females from the census owing to the reticence of certain classes regarding their womanfall, (ii) the fact that in India there has been at each successive enumeration up to 1901 a rise in the proportion of females, (iii) the low proportion of females at certain ages when omissions would *a priori* be expected, and (iv) the fact that vital statistics show a greater mortality amongst males.

With regard to (i) there is less reason in Assam than anywhere else to expect the omission of females, who even in the plains, except among the higher classes of Hindus and Muhammadans, freely go out and, among the lower Hindu castes in the Surma Valley and among all except the highest in the upper Brahmaputra Valley help their husbands in transplanting the paddy and in the latter area in reaping also we have also found an excess of young women up to 30 in the Surma Valley among Muhammadans, who would be the most likely to conceal their females. In the Hills there is an entire absence of *as def* of any kind. I think, therefore, that we can safely neglect this possibility. Objection (ii) falls to the ground at the present census, as far as Assam is concerned, for there is a decline in the proportion of females both in the actual and natural population and in each main religion since 1901. It was argued in paragraph 110 of the last Census Report that there is probability in the theory that women are better able than men to survive periods of unhealthiness and that the rise in the proportion of females then disclosed was due to the insanitary conditions of the previous decade. The same theory was put forward in paragraph 201 of the last India Census Report, where it was claimed that women can withstand the effects of famine better than men. The fact that the last decade has been healthy and that there has been a concomitant decline in the proportion of women seems to add weight to the arguments put forward on behalf of this theory. We have already considered objection (iii) above, where the inaccuracy of the age returns was referred to, and we found also an excessive mortality at the ages in question; Subsidiary Table II shows successive increases since 1891 in the proportions of females at the two periods 5—10 and 10—15 in spite of the general decline within the last ten years; the critics assume that the improvement up to 1901 was due to the gradual disappearance of the concealment of females, but the increase in the period 10—15 combined with a decrease between 15 and 20 cannot be attributed to this cause and all that can be inferred is that there is a tendency towards greater accuracy in the age statistics, which is particularly noticeable in the period 10—15 amongst Hindus. Finally with regard to objection (iv) we find that the vital statistics of the decade 1891—1900 show a slightly smaller proportion of female births and a very large deficiency in the proportion of female deaths in comparison with the figures of the last decade. This rise in female mortality exactly fits in with the theory mentioned above regarding the resistance power of women in seasons of calamity and seems to confirm it. The general results of the vital statistics for the last twenty years are that the excess of the proportion of female births over female deaths per milie mille occurs more and more from 19 to 0 in the last decade which points to a decrease in the proportion of females and this is exactly what we find. So that allowing for certain inaccuracies in the return of ages at the census, we must conclude that the vital statistics in spite of the want of precision agree generally with the variations disclosed in the census figures.

On the whole, then, we may conclude that the census tables of sex proportions are correct. Women are in deficit in the plains and there is no much difference in the proportion of the sexes which has been detailed above. The very low proportion of

females in the natural population of Sibsagar, which, though it shows a small increase since 1901, is still most remarkable, was attributed in the last Census Report more especially to the injurious effects on women of stooping in the muddy paddy fields during the work of transplanting in July and August. This explanation covered the district of Lakhimpur also, but it was not particularly necessary in that district nor is it now, because the proportion of females there is not much lower than in Sylhet and in 1901 was actually greater for natural population. I think that it will not be disputed that many more women work in the paddy fields during the rains in Sibsagar than in Lakhimpur, where a high proportion of the working women are employed in tea gardens, and I am inclined to accept Mr. Allen's theory as being applicable to Sibsagar mainly.

There remains the curious fact that females are in a majority in the Hills generally. Perhaps the most obvious explanation of this is that the hill tribes are not burdened with the custom of early marriage or an unfavourable climate. The officers in charge of Khasi and Jaintia Hills and Lushai Hills were specially requested to report any local causes which would account for the excess of females. The former considered that the interperative habits of the men may have had some effect in shortening their lives, and the latter thought that it was due to excessive mortality amongst males up to 20, which he inferred from such vital occurrences as were reported. It will be noted that in every part of the Hills, except in Naga Hills for actual and natural population and in Lushai Hills for actual population only, the proportion of women has declined since the last census. In Khasi and Jaintia Hills this may be due to a return to healthy conditions, but I can only attribute the decline in the other districts to variations in the proportions of the sexes at birth.

71 The last point brings us to a consideration of the causes influencing sex

Causeation of sex

These are exceedingly obscure, but that there are variations in sex proportions at birth is undoubtedly, e.g., in Scotland the proportion of female infants rose from 945 to 955 between 1870 and 1900 and fell in Ireland from 951 to 914 in the same period. One of the most recent theories is that of Ewart published in *Nature* of the 5th January 1911, according to which it would appear that there is a tendency in women over 28 to produce boys and in those below that age to produce girls. The theory is based on the statistics of a small area and tends to show that the variations are due to an attempt on the part of nature to equalise the numbers of the sexes. Where women are in a majority there is no need for haste on the part of the men to marry and consequently they will not take a partner before thirty; they are then more likely to mate with women a few years younger than themselves and the result is an excess of male births. When women are in a minority, a man must get a young wife or be left without one and hence more girls are born. In paragraph 82 of the next chapter dealing with birth customs will be found a few Indian ideas on the subject.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.
General proportions of the sexes by main 12 districts and 4 districts.

Districts and minor districts.	Number of females to 1,000 males.									
	1911.		1912.		1913.		1914.		1915.	
	Actual population.	Natural population.	Actual population.	Natural population.	Actual population.	Natural population.	Actual population.	Natural population.	Actual population.	Natural population.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
ABRAM										
BALAKHUNTA VALLEY	92	88	90	86	92	88	90	86	88	
Gopalganj	92	88	90	86	92	88	90	86	88	
Kishoreganj	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Dinajpur	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Murshidabad	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Rajshahi	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Lakshmipur	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
SYNTHETIC VALLEY										
Deccan										
Sylhet	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
HILL DISTRICTS										
Garo Hills	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	
Khasi and Jaintia	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	
Hills	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Shillong Hills	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Marma	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Landrail Hills	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	

N.B.—The figures given for actual population in 1911 and 1912 exclude the emigrants to other provinces, and those given for 1913 include extra-provincial emigrants to Bengal only.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

Number of females per 1,000 males at different age periods by religion at each of the last three censuses.

Age.	All religions.			Buddhist.			Hindoo.			Islam.		
	1911.	1912.	1913.	1911.	1912.	1913.	1911.	1912.	1913.	1911.	1912.	1913.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
0-1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1-2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2-3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3-4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4-5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5-6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6-7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7-8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
8-9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9-10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total 0-4	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034
0-5	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034
5-10	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034
Total 0-10	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034
0-15	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034
15-20	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034
20-25	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034
25-30	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034
30-35	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034
35-40	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034
40-45	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034
45-50	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034
50-55	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034
55-60	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034
60-65	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034
65-70	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034
70-75	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034
75-80	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034
80-85	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034
85-90	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034
Total 0 and over	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034
Total all ages (estimated population)	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034
Total all ages (estimated population)	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034

N.B.—The figures given for actual population, and for 1912 and 1913, include emigrants to other provinces, and those given for 1911 include extra-provincial emigrants to Bengal only.

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SUBSIDIARY TABLES.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III

Number of females per 1,000 males at different age period by religion and natural division (census of 1911)

Age	Brahmaputra Valley				Surma Valley				Hills			
	All religions		Hindu	Muslims	All religions		Hindu	Muslims	All religions		Hindu	Muslims
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
0-1	1,013	1,007	1,006	1,048	997	2,010	987	1,039	1,039	981	980	1,018
1-2	1,018	1,016	1,020	1,033	1,033	1,038	1,053	1,063	1,056	1,001	1,017	1,097
2-3	1,010	1,013	1,020	1,030	1,030	1,053	1,071	1,143	1,014	1,018	1,017	1,031
3-4	1,075	1,071	1,053	1,051	1,078	1,100	1,064	1,057	1,013	1,031	1,041	1,008
4-5	1,013	1,017	1,010	1,048	1,018	1,003	1,027	1,013	1,033	1,041	1,027	1,042
Total 0-5	1,033	1,033	1,018	1,037	1,043	1,017	1,039	1,001	1,020	1,000	984	1,038
5-10	911	923	903	935	979	1,004	941	1,010	978	954	976	1,000
10-15	827	827	731	760	735	739	698	743	693	680	690	664
15-20	1,063	926	1,017	2,193	1,107	1,048	1,143	1,053	1,153	1,041	944	1,229
20-25	1,153	1,112	1,131	1,136	1,003	1,133	1,253	1,163	1,174	900	713	1,333
25-30	982	944	914	1,018	951	963	1,010	1,029	1,010	665	667	1,177
Total 0-50	937	978	963	1,032	1,003	993	1,010	1,093	1,048	970	894	1,038
30-40	787	757	690	863	800	823	783	913	800	803	880	1,030
40-50	707	709	632	760	776	744	769	943	943	878	603	891
50-60	774	773	773	763	847	802	821	860	861	716	660	
60 and over	609	673	627	632	843	1,000	831	943	1,176	1,163	697	1,044
Total 20 and over	779	791	714	823	843	840	797	843	978	901	837	1,013
Total all ages, population (actual)	913	907	878	975	943	911	945	1,007	1,023	918	805	1,001
Total all ages* (rural population)	983	941	917	955	918	940	943	1,011	1,040	1,018	915	1,001

* See note to Subsidiary Table II regarding figures given for natural population.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV

Number of females per 1,000 males for certain selected castes and tribes

Caste or tribe	Number of females per 1,000 males.						
	All ages.	0-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-40	40 and over
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
GROUP I							
Brahman	821	1,010	905	740	909	741	762
GROUP II							
Baidya	840	1,066	1,002	547	1,000	783	671
Barna	963	1,047	919	802	1,121	988	883
Gaols	703	1,050	1,002	670	1,002	749	604
Kaiharta Chasi (Mahishya)	909	1,076	1,010	636	870	875	871
Kalita	921	1,024	957	724	801	960	855
Kamar	93*	1,013	918	857	1,239	1,010	769
Kayastha	803	1,061	973	686	970	770	800
Korat	961	1,015	973	797	849	1,040	902
Koch	960	1,027	950	738	964	1,013	849
Napit	93*	1,033	1,007	609	1,033	98*	866
Rajbansi	946	1,070	889	851	1,105	955	861
Sudra	978	1,158	995	905	951	923	937
Tanti	1,015	1,182	970	921	1,085	1,140	673
Teli	950	975	1,000	723	1,168	931	908
GROUP III							
Ahom	937	1,054	969	887	1,093	880	845
Bhunimall	921	1,060	888	748	1,075	939	879
Chutia	940	1,021	987	819	1,016	912	863
Dhob	945	740	857	747	1,266	918	910
Garo	989	949	903	1,044	1,483	1,117	749
Jogi	964	1,032	937	744	1,055	985	941
Kachari	958	1,043	942	939	1,254	928	844
Khatri	1,117	1,005	991	1,089	1,765	1,191	1,124
Kuki	1,024	1,006	933	939	1,194	1,143	935
Kumhar	978	981	1,001	699	1,084	1,015	966
Luchai	1,213	1,124	1,143	1,091	1,273	1,282	1,249
Malo	923	1,170	1,058	956	944	884	833
Manipuri (Kehntriya)	1,008	997	970	1,002	1,010	1,027	1,031
Mikir	959	1,041	974	942	1,100	996	818
Nadial	976	1,074	994	696	1,084	1,029	848
Namasudra	931	1,080	907	757	1,057	910	830
Patihi	954	1,068	971	795	1,102	939	898
Sutradhar	903	1,060	928	760	1,069	884	815

N.B.—The figures for Brahmins, Baidyas, Kayasthas, Gaols, Tantis and Telis are probably affected by immigration.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V
*Actual number of births and deaths reported for each year during the decades 1891-1900 and
 1901-1910*

Time.	Number of Births.			Number of Deaths.			Rate per 1,000 Live Births.			Rate per 1,000 Live Births.					
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Deaths from Diseases of Infantile Malaria.	Deaths from Diseases of Infantile Measles.	Deaths from Diseases of Infantile Scarlet Fever.	Deaths from Diseases of Infantile Typhus.	Deaths from Diseases of Infantile Tuberculosis.	Deaths from Diseases of Infantile Whooping Cough.			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13			
1801	-	14,721	16,122	30,843	29,438	30,737	59,175	-	4,351	-	8,713	-	6,895		
1802	-	16,161	17,923	34,084	34,225	31,264	67,184	-	4,753	-	9,812	-	11,573		
1803	-	17,922	18,427	36,350	37,400	34,416	71,816	-	4,433	-	11,223	-	9,281		
1804	-	18,474	19,873	38,347	37,788	32,302	70,476	-	4,793	-	9,463	-	9,474		
1805	-	19,364	19,987	39,351	39,352	32,373	70,204	-	4,007	-	10,588	-	11,673		
1806	-	21,729	21,442	43,171	41,180	31,297	72,417	-	4,668	-	11,843	-	12,314		
1807	-	21,070	20,612	41,682	42,774	31,219	72,690	-	4,550	-	11,453	-	9,428		
1808	-	21,473	21,251	42,724	42,740	31,089	73,227	-	4,031	-	12,227	-	12,268		
1809	-	21,112	21,683	42,795	41,461	31,120	73,433	-	4,143	-	12,883	-	12,433		
1810	-	20,860	21,422	42,282	42,725	31,008	74,021	-	4,573	-	9,029	+	12,741		
Total 1801-1810	827,943	774,422	1,600,365	826,070	812,915	1,639,985	-	82,729	-	107,328	-	123,513	-	93	
1811	-	21,973	24,521	46,494	47,363	40,058	84,420	-	4,342	-	8,462	-	12,224		
1812	-	21,146	21,222	42,368	40,406	37,573	80,872	-	3,817	-	11,228	-	11,473		
1813	-	20,377	20,772	41,149	41,029	37,414	79,902	-	3,962	-	11,137	-	10,409		
1814	-	20,771	20,775	41,546	41,307	31,860	73,620	-	3,802	-	11,222	-	10,104		
1815	-	21,381	20,827	42,208	42,208	32,792	75,000	-	4,077	-	11,473	-	12,571		
1816	-	21,526	20,984	42,510	42,173	31,421	74,324	-	3,772	-	12,761	-	12,337		
1817	-	20,973	21,712	42,685	42,366	31,024	73,021	-	3,572	-	12,708	-	12,723		
1818	-	20,878	21,811	42,689	42,023	30,814	72,801	-	3,517	-	12,311	-	12,344		
1819	-	21,479	20,112	41,591	40,919	31,139	72,777	-	3,558	-	12,423	-	12,460		
1820	-	20,361	20,111	40,472	40,294	30,233	71,327	-	3,659	-	12,363	-	12,359		
Total 1811-1820	750,644	709,621	1,460,265	811,029	783,923	1,543,922	-	44,193	-	64,378	-	70,323	-	73	
Average															
Brahmaputra Valley	64,076	64,332	128,408	62,819	62,184	125,005	-	34,157	-	40,033	-	46,914	-	57	
Barisal Valley	-	49,134	49,179	98,313	98,090	98,337	98,577	-	33,344	-	37,330	-	37,330	-	57

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.

CHAPTER VII.

CIVIL CONDITION

72 The main statistics concerning civil condition are contained in Imperial Table VII and XIV, the former combining it with age and religion General and the latter with age and caste. There are five subsidiary

tables at the end of this chapter, which will be referred to below in their appropriate places. Several peculiarities of the statistics connected with marriage in India occur at once to persons acquainted only with European customs. These are the universality of marriage, the prevalence of early marriage, particularly amongst females, and the large proportion of widows.

At first sight it would seem that in Assam there is nothing very specially noteworthy, at least as far as males are concerned. Subsidiary Table I shows that 55 per cent of the males are unmarried, while in England in 1901 the number of bachelors was only 6 per cent greater. But the percentage of spinsters is only 42 per cent in Assam against 59 per cent in England, and when we go further and examine the age statistics, we see that in Assam most of the unmarried males are under 20 and most of the spinsters are under 15. A glance at the figures in Subsidiary Table III for all religions will show that 60 per cent of the males between 15 and 40 are married and that only 3 per cent of those over 40 are unmarried. Amongst females 27 per cent of those aged 10—15 and 80 per cent of those between 15 and 40 are married and less than 1 per cent of those over 40 remain single. In Prussia in 1900 there were no males and only 4 females per mille married under 20, while 47 per cent of the men and 37 per cent of the women between 20 and 40 were still single. Perhaps the most striking feature of the statistics is the large number of widows. Subsidiary Table I shows that out of 1,000 women in Assam 162 are widows, while in England at the 1901 census there were only 74 widows per mille. These peculiarities of marriage statistics are not so pronounced in Assam as they are in other provinces of India, for example, in Bengal in 1901 only 48 per cent of the males and 32 per cent of the females were unmarried, and the proportion of widows per mille of females was 199. The main reason for this lies in the fact that the marriage customs in vogue in the Brahmaputra Valley and the Hills are somewhat different from what may be regarded as those typical of India.

Subsidiary Table II shows that in the Surma Valley the number of unmarried females per mille is 57 less than the proportion in the Brahmaputra Valley and 88 less than that of the Hills, and that while the number of married women is not very much higher than in the other two divisions, the proportion of widows is considerably greater and is 30 per mille above the provincial figure. The statistics of religions for the province show that the Buddhists are the most married and show the smallest proportion of widows and the largest of widowers, but they form only a small community and cannot be taken as typical. The greatest number of widows, 188 per mille, is found amongst Hindus, who are followed in order by Muhammadans, Animists and Christians. There are more married women amongst Muhammadans than in any other of the main religions and the number of spinsters is highest in the Christian community, though the Animists are not far behind. The large extent of widowhood amongst Hindus is due partly to the tender age of the brides and partly to the prohibition of widow marriage, but, as will be explained below, these customs do not prevail in Assam as much as they do in other parts of India. The preponderance of married women amongst Muhammadans arises from the fact that, like Hindus, their girls are married young, but their widows are not prevented from accepting a second partner in life. Animists and Christians are similar to Muhammadans in that they have no objection to a wife who is not a virgin, but they are differentiated by postponing the marriage of their womanfolk until they have reached the period of adolescence.

73 Subsidiary Table III shows that in 10,000 Hindus of either sex 5 males and 43 females below ten years of age are married and Hindus 2 females are widowed. It has always been a question how for the statistics for this age period represent facts and special efforts were made during compilation to ensure that all doubtful cases should be investigated locally by the district authorities. The proportion of married and widowed during the early years of life shows since 1901 a small but satisfactory decrease, which is not improbably

altogether due to more accurate returns. At the next age period 10—15, the number of married females is over ten times that of the males at 15—40 female superiority still holds good, but from 40 upwards married men are nearly three times as numerous as married women. In Subsidiary Tables II and IV which show statistics by religions and locality Goalpara district has been shown separately from the rest of the Brahmaputra Valley in order that the conditions of the greater part of the latter area might not be obscured. It will be noted that the conditions in Goalpara approximate to those prevailing in the Surma Valley. Out of every 1,000 Hindu females aged 5-10 the number who are married is 43 in the Surma Valley and 51 in Goalpara against only 11 in the rest of the Brahmaputra Valley. Similar results are obtained in the age period 10—15 both for married and widowed females, the latter being fewer in proportion at every age in the Brahmaputra Valley. The figures given in Subsidiary Table IV showing the number of females per 1,000 males at different ages in each civil condition are equally striking. The statistics prove that the Surma Valley and Goalpara are more like Bengal in the marriage customs of their Hindu inhabitants than the rest of Assam. Indeed in the central and upper Brahmaputra Valley the only Hindu castes which are orthodox in the matter of child marriage and the prohibition of widow marriage are the Brahmans and Grahapras. Subsidiary Table V gives the figures for certain selected castes, which are distinguished by locality. I am not sure that very much reliance can be placed on the few returns showing married girls under 5 they come mainly from inferior castes, amongst whom there is a noticeable tendency to be more orthodox than the Brahmans themselves, as will be seen immediately. The age period 5—12 shows remarkable results the castes with high numbers of married girls are inferior and belong to the Surma Valley with one exception the first are the Bhutiahs with 21.9 per mille and they are followed in order by the Patnis, Tolis, Dhobas, Namazdars, Rajbansis of Goalpara, Baruis and Malos the Brahmans of the province, who appear next in the list have only 12.2 per mille, the Kayasthas only 07 and the Haldynas as few as 3.4. The highest proportion amongst castes peculiar to the Brahmaputra Valley is found amongst the Kallitas, but it is only 29; the Kewals, hookers, Miskirs, Kacharis, Chutias, Aboms and Daduls follow in the order given; among the latter two castes there are only 4 girls married between 5 and 12 years of age. Similar results are obtained by an examination of the statistics of the age period 13—20 it will be noticed that here the highest proportion of widows is amongst the Malos a fishing caste of Sylhet. It would appear reasonable to infer from these figures that in the Surma Valley and Goalpara the castes which hold an inferior status in Hindu society are more anxious to marry their girls in infancy than the higher castes, while in the Brahmaputra Valley the indigenous castes are as yet fairly free from the prejudices against adult marriage of women. The age of the bridegroom follows the same course, with a few curious exceptions. The Goalas of the province, the Tantis of the upper Brahmaputra Valley who are foreigners and the Malos of Sylhet contain the highest proportion of married males aged 5—12, but I would not place much stress on the statistics of this period. Between 12 and 20 the Goalas have the greatest proportion of bridegrooms but they are closely followed by the Animistic Kacharis and Chutias of the Brahmaputra Valley and then follow the Kamars, Tantis, Brahmans and Miskirs. Apart from the high statistical position of the Animists, the castes in honour to the Brahmaputra Valley marry their sons after 20. I am at a loss to explain why the Kachari, Goalas and Miskirs have always taken wives at such an early age. It may be due to greater freedom of intercourse with the other sex and the need for making some permanent arrangement as soon as there are signs of conception.

74 Up to the age of 10 the proportion of Muhammadan girls married is much less than that found amongst Hindus but between 10 and 15 there are more girl wives amongst the former.

In examining Muhammadans. The number of widowers is low at every age and the proportion of widows does not approach that amongst Hindus until after 10 when presumably the chances of a fresh marriage are not favourable to women who have already been married and have now to compete with younger rivals. There is not however special in the variations in locality if anything Muhammadan women seem to marry younger in the Brahmaputra Valley and the proportion of widows is somewhat lower than in the Surma Valley. I do not think that it would be safe to draw any conclusions from the small apparent variations in the statistics since 1891; the present results are probably nearer accurate. The small discrepancy clearly the greatest difference lies either in the Muhammadans but follows from the greater proportion of widow remarriage among the former.

75 The statistics of Animist males are not very dissimilar from those of Muhammadans, except that there is a higher proportion of Animists widowers amongst the former. The striking features are concerned with the women. Below ten years of age there are only 10 married and 1 widowed female per mille against 33 and 2, respectively, among Muhammadans and 43 and 2 amongst Hindus. Between 10 and 15 the proportion of married girls is about a third of that for all religions for the province and the proportion of widows bears the same ratio to those of the other two religions. Animists have the highest number of married women over 40, and consequently the lowest number of widows. It would appear from Subsidiary Table IV that the Animists of all ages in the Brahmaputra Valley have a lower proportion of widows than those in the Hills, but the influence of their Hindu neighbours on the former is shown by the excess of married girls and widows between 10 and 15. I am again inclined to attribute the small variations disclosed in Subsidiary Table IV to greater accuracy at the present census.

76 The theories which have been put forward to explain the origin of child marriage were discussed in the last Census Report, in paragraph 120 of which it was stated that local opinion agreed with Mr O'Donnell's view that the practice of child marriage was established to prevent early loss of virginity and the danger that grown-up girls might refuse to accept a husband of proper caste and rank. Local enquiries instituted regarding the present average ages of marriage for females among different castes point to the conclusion that in the Surma Valley infant marriage is an established custom amongst every class of the people. In Goalpara the Rajbansis, who form the main Hindu caste, are said to marry their daughters when they reach 11 or 12 years of age. In the other districts of the Brahmaputra Valley Brahmans and Grahabipras practise infant marriage, but the Kalitas, the highest indigenous caste, do not give their daughters in marriage before the age of 11 or 12, the age for Kewats is about 14, for Koches 15, while other castes keep their daughters until they are 16 or 18 years old, which is the average age of marriage amongst Animistic tribes. These results are confirmed by the statistics of caste which have been given above. One would be inclined to infer that in Assam the existence of the practice of child marriage is due to imitation and that it is a part of the general tendency of castes to raise themselves by adopting the customs of their superiors. Certain practices, such as adult marriage and the purchase of brides, are viewed with disfavour by the higher castes of orthodox Hindus. The Grahabipras of the Brahmaputra Valley are said to have given up the latter custom since 1908, and the tendency amongst the Kalitas, Keots and Koches is to follow their example. In the Surma Valley the Jogis are taking the same course and the Muhammadans are coming into line with their co-religionists elsewhere; the reports show that even among the lower castes, such as Patnis and Namasudras, there is a tendency to minimise the prevalence of the custom, and in both valleys the bride price is often declared to be in the nature of an aid to the bride's family to bear the marriage expenses. There would appear, then, to be little doubt that in the gradual abolition of the bride price we have an example of deliberate imitation, and it would seem that the most obvious explanation of the practice of child marriage, so far as it exists in Assam, is that it has arisen from the same cause. But plausible as this theory is, it does not meet with general acceptance when applied to other parts of India, and it was shown in the last Bengal Census Report that marriage in that province was largely a matter of locality, though depending to a certain extent on its cost. The enquiries made tend to show that the cost of the marriage ceremony has very little connection in Assam with the bride's age, because the money spent varies with the means of the parties and hence tends to be larger amongst the higher castes, who are generally more well-to-do. It has been suggested that infant marriage owes its origin to low castes, who on their conversion to Hinduism introduced it in order to put a stop to the premarital intercourse which is common amongst aboriginal tribes, but I do not think that this theory could claim support from our statistics. On the contrary we find that in the Brahmaputra Valley, where there are more Hindus not far removed from Animism than elsewhere, the marriage age of girls is high, but in the Surma Valley and in Goalpara on the Bengal border it is low, and the only conclusion that seems to be borne out by the figures is that referred to above, *viz.*, deliberate imitation.

77 The most obvious method of discovering the extent to which polygamy is prevalent is to compare the number of married males with the number of married females. There are however two factors

which cannot be neglected in this matter there may be a tendency to show as widowed not alone widows who have married again, but also women who live with men without having gone through a formal ceremony secondly the statistics may be vitiated by migration. Every effort was made to eliminate the former danger during both enumeration and compilation and the fact that there are decreases since 1901 in the number of unmarried females over 0 e.g. In Howong Lakhimpur Darrang and Garo Hills, would tend to show that the present figures are somewhat nearer the truth. The only way to avoid the second difficulty is to confine ourselves to large areas. In the province as a whole it is only amongst Muhammadans, Animists and Christians that there are more married women than men, the proportion per mille of males being 1,014, 1,029 and 1,017 respectively. It is clear that polygamy does not prevail to any extent, but it must be allowed that the statistics are obscured by the immigrant population. Polyandry does not exist now in Assam, but it may be inferred that it prevailed amongst the Khasis and Garos, who still trace their descent and inherit property through the female.

78 The system of Kulinism which is peculiar to Bengal does not exist in any part of Assam, but in Sylhet the practice of hypergamy based on social status is found among the higher castes.

Hypergamy

Hypergamy is a term invented in India to express the custom of marrying a wife of a superior social grade it does not imply that the latter is of a superior caste, but only that the superiority is a social one within the caste. In Sylhet an educated man can always and a wealthy man can generally obtain a wife of higher social position than his own high social position there implies a family which in bygone days held important posts under Muhammadan rule or distinguished itself by learning or the acquisition of property. In Sylhet also wealthy Deos and Shahis succeed at times in marrying their sons and daughters to Vaidyas and Kayasthas, though the latter are generally of indifferent status in their own caste, and Vaidyas and Kayasthas freely intermarry though such a practice would be reprehensible in Bengal. This is a step beyond the usual hypergamy and postulates a freedom in caste matters which is not often found and which will be discussed later on in the chapter on caste.

79 It may be stated as a general fact that amongst the higher castes the *goitres* and **Exogamy** and prohibited degrees of relationship form the exogamous circle amongst the lower castes there is a good deal of laxity with regard to the *goitres*, which is practically non-existent, although in imitation of the higher castes some of them profess to have *goitres*. Amongst the Brahmins the *goitres* are generally eponymous: each is supposed to consist of the descendants of one or other of the great Vedic Sants or Ilahis. When *goitres* with similar names are found amongst other castes, the descent is claimed not from the saint, but from members of the caste who were included amongst his disciples. In Assam the only castes which can be said to have such exogamous sections are the Brahmins, Vaidyas and Kayasthas in the Surma Valley and Brahmins and Grahaputras or Acharyas in the Brahmaputra Valley so that excluding these castes, it may be said that marriage is forbidden only within the prohibited degrees of relationship. When a woman of any of these castes marries, she enters the exogamous group of her husband. The custom which exists in some places of taking a bride from a village other than that of the bridegroom does not exist in Assam. The general rule with regard to the degrees within which marriage is forbidden prohibits marriage amongst Brahmins, Vaidyas and Kayasthas within seven generations on the father's side and five generations on the side of the mother but this rule is not strictly enforced amongst the lower castes. The custom of cousin marriage does not exist amongst Hindus but is permissible amongst Muhammadans. Amongst the Garos one daughter of the family must marry the son of her father's sister or in the absence of such a cousin, a man of her father's motherkin.

I have not been able to discover any trace of totemistic exogamy as in the proper sense of the word in Assam, i.e., though such sections may have the names of animals or natural objects there does not appear to be any real reason for the supposed ancestor. A possible exception is the Jirwa Longlet clan in the west of the Khasi Hills, which believes that its ancestors sprung from a bamboo plant and had sprouts to this belief refuses to eat the small green shoot of the bamboo which are a common food amongst the neighbouring clans. The following interesting account of the

exogamous sections of the Sema Nagas is given by Mr J Needham, late Subdivisional Officer of Mokokchong —

The Sema tribe is subdivided into seventeen exogamous divisions which are enumerated below —

1 Simi	9 Katenimi
2 Chanimi	10 Kibalimi
3 Aomi	11 Kinimi
4 Ayemi	12 Khakhulimi
5 Achumi	13 Shohemi
6 Yephuthomi	14 Tsukemi
7 Chisholimi	15 Zemomi.
8 Chishilimi	16 Chophemi
17 Watsami	

The Semas say they originally were born on Tukahu Hill which overlooks Kohima station, and then gradually spread north to the villages they now occupy. This hill is known to the Angamis as Palebadzu, Pule's sitting place.

Nikhoga was the first man and he had six sons. Of these six sons, he could only find a wife for the eldest. During the latter's absence from home the other five brothers used to carry on intrigues with his wife. Seeing this, Nikhoga, in order to avoid trouble, called his sons together and said they must all go their own way and form their own clans. On the appointed day he killed a pig, a dog and a goat and cooked a quantity of rice and had a feast. Each son was asked his choice and according to their choice or any particular trait in their character their clans were named. The eldest of course remained with his father and his clan took on the tribal name "Simi". Another chose the dog's head, saying as the dog eats everything, so will he and his clan. These are known as "Chnumi," which translated literally corresponds to "the eaters of everything." One chose the pig's head and his clan are called "Aomi" (from ao=a pig). Before the feast, while the brothers were carrying in firewood, one of them made a great noise while carrying his load and his clan are called "Ayemi" (from aye=a noise). Another was the first to eat rice at the feast and his clan are called "Achumi" (from aia=rice, chn=to eat). The last one was a very taciturn fellow who would not join the others, but stood silently looking on. His clan were accordingly called "Yephthomi" (from ye=a clan, tholo=very deep, silent).

These five brothers then migrated north with their respective followers, and one of them, a man called Khogamo, grew very prosperous and his village became very large. He had three sons and calling them told them to form new clans, each taking a number of followers. Chisho was the eldest and he formed the Chisholimi clan. The second son was a thief and was continually being thumped on the mouth, evidently because the proceeds of the thefts found their way to this member of his body. His clan are called Chishilimi (from chishi=to thump on the mouth). Kate was the name of the youngest and his clan were called "Katenimi" after him. To this day we have the villages of Chisholimi and Katenimi.

Kibalimi is an offshoot from Simi. It seems the founder of the clan was very fond of roaming about the streams (aziba=a pond or pool). Kinimi is an offshoot from Aomi and is named after its founder Kinshe. Khakhulimi is an offshoot from Achumi and is merely named after its founder Khakhu. Shoheimi is an offshoot from Chisholimi. The founder was a very inquisitive fellow and had a way of always raising his head when looking at anything (shohe=to raise). Tsukemi is an offshoot from Chishilimi. The founder was a very mischievous fellow who was always being caught hold of and scolded (tsuke=to catch hold). There was a woman named Pithli who gave birth to an illegitimate child. She could not name the father. This boy grew up a strong man and became wealthy. He founded the Zemomi clan. Zemomi means literally "by the blood of an unknown" (from aze=blood, mo=not, unknown, mi=child).

I have not been able to trace from which clans the Chophemi and Watsami are offshoots. The man who founded the Chophemi clan was one day found in a pond with only his head and neck out of water and his clan are called Chophemi (from chophe=to project). The founder of the Watsami clan one day left some finely pounded rice in a basket. He had intended brewing liquor with it. He went away to attend to some other work and coming back found a pig eating it. He tried to snatch the basket away and the pig bit him on the hand. The word is derived from ao=a pig, tsa=to bite.

80 A full account of the marriage customs in use amongst Hindus and certain tribes in Assam was given in the last Census Report. It

Marriage ceremonies may be mentioned here that marriage by service is more common amongst the Animistic or semi-Hinduised tribes than elsewhere. Among the Manipuri settlers of Sylhet the Gandharva form of marriage is quite common. The parties arrange an elopement at a dance or other assemblage and run away to some distant village, from where they send the news to their homes. Then people then call together some friends and proceed to the spot singing and dancing, and bring back the happy pair to the bridegroom's house amidst general rejoicings. Amongst the Jugs of Sylhet the bridegroom pretends to be very angry and rushes away with the mat doors of his would-be father-in-law's house, whereon he is threatened with a paddy husker and finally pacified by being told he will get a sweet wife. Then follow the usual ceremonies of marriage. Detailed descriptions of the tribal forms of marriage

will be found in the ethnographic monographs already published. The following account of a marriage amongst the Lhota Nagas may prove interesting—

The first step is for the suitor to send an old man with a gourd of liquor and a bundle of wool to the girl's parents; if the latter are willing to give their daughter they ask her consent; formerly she had to go whether she liked it or not, but now she is allowed a voice in the bargain. The young man, on receiving intimation of consent, takes a hen in his hand and accompanied by an old man proceeds to the girl's house where an old woman is called in by the girl's parents; the fowl is then divided and the head-half given to the old man and the tail-half to the old woman. This division of what may be called the wooing-fowl is the essential part of Lhota betrothal, and failure to proceed with the marriage after this entails a fine on the defaulting party. The price is then arranged, a well-to-do suitor will give four pigs of the value of Rs. 20 each and a spear worth Rs. 2, but within recent years their value in excess is commonly given; a poor man might pay as low as Rs. 4 i.e. the value of four small pigs and a spear. The marriage price in former days was paid in instalments, first one pig which furnished a feast for the whole family of the girl, secondly after an interval of three or four months, two pigs and a spear which were to be given by the bride's father and mother and finally the remaining pig, which was divided in two, the head-half being given to the girl's parents and the other half being split in two and half taken by the girl and half by the would-be bridegroom. All the latter's male relatives go to the girl's house and are feasted there by her parents. At the end of the feast all the girls related to the bride form a ring around her and sing "girl our way are few you cannot have her" an old woman pounding an accompaniment to the song with a drum stick for the possession of which mock fight begins and finally the girl is surrendered. On the way back to her husband's house the bride walks first and the bridegroom second, each carrying a gourd of liquor and behind them come all the relatives with lighted torches; they are met by an old man who takes the bridegroom's hand and an old woman who takes the bride; the pair are then made to sit down together and then to stand together and finally they are again seated side by side and the ceremony is over. On the first night a little gift from the bride's party and two boy from the bridegroom sleep in the house; in the morning the whole four go out for water shooti. If the time far if they see any animal on the way it is a bad omen and must be done. The marriage costs a bridegroom about a hundred rupees; the expenses of the bride's family are only four or five rupees, exclusive of such ornaments or clothes as they may care to give her.

Divorce is common and results from infidelity on either side or mutual incompatibility. If the wife is unfaithful, the husband recovers the marriage price; if the husband is unfaithful the girl's parents receive ten rupees or a small pig; the marriage price is refunded when the parties find that they cannot live together in peace. Polygamy is very common and is limited only by the man's resources; polyandry is uncommon.

81. The use of terms of relationship is an interesting study to the ethnologist, because they often exemplify social customs or afford clues to those which are deductive or otherwise inexplicable.

Very full lists have been received amongst others from Lieutenant-Colonel Shakespeare Political Agent Manipur and Rev Mr Lettigrew of the Baptist Mission to the Tangkhul Nagas, and will be transmitted to the Census Commissioner for communication to Anthropological Societies; they are synopsised in an appendix to this chapter for the benefit of those who are curious on this subject. In the limited space at my disposal I proposed to confine myself here to the terms used in Manipur. The words for father mother son and daughter assume different forms according as the person concerned speaks, is spoken to, or is spoken of; my father is *mor bojar*; your father is *tomas bojar*; his father is *tar bojar*; similarly for mother the forms are *ai mar mat* for son *po pater* and *pater* and for daughter *ji jier* and *jick*. The distinction between elder and younger is maintained by the use of separate words for elder and younger brother brother-in-law, sister-in-law, paternal and maternal uncle, uncle's wife, aunt and aunt's husband; the paternal uncle and aunt are carefully distinguished from those on the mother's side and so are brothers and sisters-in-law according as they are on the husband's or the wife's side. On the other hand, first cousins on both sides are called brothers and sisters, whether they are children of a brother or a sister but are distinguished as being younger and elder. Nephews who are children of a brother have a different name from the children of a sister and they stand in the same relationship to the wife of their uncle as their do to him. Great parents and grandparents have the same names whether they are on the male or female side and so do fathers and mothers-in-law. There are special names for the

husband of the wife's sister, for the wife of the husband's brother, and for the parent of the son's wife. The terms in use are given herewith —

Relation	Assamese.	Relation.	Assamese		
1	2	3	4		
1 Father	Bopai, etc	Son	Po, etc		
2 Mother	Ai, etc	Daughter	Ji, etc		
3 Elder brother	Kakai	Younger brother	Bhai		
4 Elder sister	Bai	Younger sister	Bhani		
5 Father's brother	{ Elder Younger	Bar bopai Khura, dada	Brother's child	Bhatija	
6 Father's brother's wife	{ Elder Younger	Bar ai, bar bau Khuri	Husband's brother's child	Bhatija	
7 Father's brother's child		{ Kakai, bhai (m) Bai, bham (f)			
8 Father's sister	{ Elder Younger	Jethai Pehu			
9 Father's sister's husband	{ Elder Younger	Jethpa Peha			
10 Father's sister's child		{ Kakai bhai (m) Bai, bham (f)			
11 Mother's brother		Momai	Sister's child	Bhagin.	
12 Mother's brother's wife		Mat, mami	Husband's sister's child	Bhagin.	
13 Mother's brother's child		{ Kakai, bhai (m) Bai, hham (f)			
14 Mother's sister	{ Elder Younger	Jethai Mahu			
15 Mother's sister's husband	{ Elder Younger	Jethpa. Maha			
16 Mother's sister's child		{ Kakai, bhai (m) Bai, bham (f)			
17 Father's or	{ Father	Kaka	Son or daughter's	Son	Nati
18 Mother's	{ Mother	Buri ai	{ Son Daughter		Natini
19 Husband		Girhaut or girek	Wife		Ghaini.
20 Wife's or husband's father		Sahur	Daughter's husband		Jowain
21 " " " mother		Sahu	Son's wife		Bowari
22 Wife's brother	{ Elder Younger	Jetheri Khurkhali	Sister's husband	{ Elder Younger	Bhimhi. Bhainai.
23 Wife's sister	{ Elder Younger	Je sahu Khurkbal			
24 Husband's brother	{ Elder Younger	Jethal Deor	Brother's wife	{ Elder Younger	Bau Bowari.
25 Husband's sister	{ Elder Younger	Sahu. Nande			
26 Wife's sister's husband		Salgatu.			
27 Husband's brother's wife		Ja.			
28 Son's wife's parents		{ Bivoi (m) Bivoni (f)			

82. I have received a great deal of information on the subject of bir h-customs but it is impossible in a census report to do more than to call interesting points from the mass of material collected.

Birth-customs. As orthodox Hindu and Muhammadan usages are well known, the extracts given below refer entirely to Animistic tribes or those who have not long given up their primitive customs. The subject is treated in each of the Assam tribal monographs published by Government. I have endeavoured to give here information not included in them.

Rites during pregnancy such as the *panchamrita* and the *shukt shakshan* are mainly confined to orthodox Hindus, but amongst the Khasis, the Rangdoria Rabhas of Goalpara, the Ao Nagas, the Kacha Nagas and the Lushais there is usually a sacrificial ceremony to ensure a safe delivery. One correspondent quotes the Sanskrit prescription of one Koka Pandit, who lived about 600 A.D. for ensuring the sex of progeny but its virtue seems to lie in cohabitation on the even or odd days after the menses according as the offspring is intended to be female or male and in this it follows the ordinary Hindu theory. The same correspondent refers to a now obsolete practice of the Kacharis of North Cachar for causing sex, which consisted in blowing through a reed in a particular manner into the vagina this practice is said to have been stopped about fifty years ago by a Christian Missionary. In the matter of forecasting sex the following extract from the Rev. Mr. Pettigrew's account of the Tangkhul Nagas of Manipur is the most interesting —

Those who can afford to call in the village doctor (Khaongra) to forecast the sex of the child practise the following — The husband and wife are made to sit inside the verandah of the house and the Khaongra "with a peg-top (boy pl. *yikting*) and a mothula (girl pl. *rhing*) a kind of round seed so called *long*" is Maipord, so his head stand at the threshold and throw first the peg-top towards the woman and if it spins in the direction of her lap the child will be male; if it does not so spin the "mothula" is thrown in the direction of the woman and if it alights in the same direction the child will be a female. If neither acts in this way the fates are against any diagnosis of such an important prognostication, or the Khaongra is not considered divine of hidden things. In this matter of forecasting the sex, dreams by the press at women are considered a source of information. If she dreams that she is drinking out of a "kava," the large size gourd carried by bedwarmers from which the rice beer is drunk, then she will be delivered of female child but if she drinks from "lung khoom," drinking pot used in bamboo, the child will be male a lambie planted outside the house denoting an enemy's head in former day and hours associated with the likes of warrior.

There are no traces of the practice of abortion. If the child is divined to be female in some tribes a girl is welcomed on account of her value in bride-price. The rules regarding prohibited food are usually fairly sensible and are intended for the promotion of the health of mother and child. Of the Tangkhul Nagas Mr. Pettigrew writes —

There is no fool prohibited before birth but after birth the eating of any green eatable from the jungle is refused. It is not safe to eat the after-pains nor later the kind of honey eaten by the mother; it is supposed to make the child revert to her. There are other things prohibited however as described herewith —

- (1) Whatever a woman may do any other time during the pregnant period her abdomen must be covered over with cloth being the case she does not indulge in the luxury of a bath during this time. Her feet and hands only are washed.
- (2) She is forbidden to take pants fruit from the jungle or the bunch of unformed fruit (that is blossoms) in the village. By doing so she will pollute the womb will be transformed to the sun if I am arranged that I go to the centre of these bunches of unformed fruit of the wild plants in the forest death.
- (3) She is forbidden to carry burnt wood from the jungle; otherwise the child will be born coal black in colour.
- (4) She is forbidden to carry a sharpening stone to the rice field otherwise the child will be born without hands or legs.
- (5) She is forbidden to walk or from otherwise in the former case the child will be born with a bent limb.
- (6) She is forbidden to pull out tongue out tail times fifth yard in the former case the child will not live long the frog is like he can be with limbs and life. The fingers and toes and to have should be met death is death.

83. The custom of the couvade seems to imply a mysterious magical and sympathetic connection between father and child, such that if the father is infirm certain rules the child suffers some anthropomorphism to find the origin of the custom in the transition from the original matriarchal system to the patriarchal. Though it was reported on all sides that this is not true of the couvade in Manipur the following refutes it. Amongst the Meitei Nagas of Manipur the husband of a woman in advanced pregnancy is aware from his first visit that he should meet the God Sirapa who might return with him and injure

the child and its mother after birth the father must not go out for ten days in a high wind or cloudy weather for fear that the Wind God might injure the child. Amongst the Lushais during pregnancy

the father will not cut up any animal that has been killed or cut off its limbs for fear his child should be born without those limbs. he believes too that if he takes the flesh of any wild beast fowls &c, his child will be still born. if he gives away any article of clothing to a man of a distant village, the child's health will be permanently impaired he also avoids all hard work, because his performance of hard work is considered to be injurious to the child's health.

Amongst the Ao Nagas

the husband lives the wife and performs all the other duties attendant on child-births. Immediately the child is born he puts a little rice, which he has previously chewed, into the child's mouth and says aloud 'I am the father This is my child which God has given me' This is done to prevent the evil spirit from taking possession of the child and causing its death.

84. It would appear that twins are generally regarded as unlucky the following shows the idea of the Tangkhul Nagas —

I am inclined to think that the naga tribes are as numerous as the villages of the tribe Sena who live them and others very much object to have such a woman among them. The latter look upon her as some lower animal who naturally gives birth to more than one. At Ukhru the belief is that when the twins are both males the husband of the mother must be a descendant of some eminable chief like, his son the tiger, and ought to be cast fully whitel for any tendency towards a man-eating disposition. There are certain villages in the tribe where these people are supposed to dwell, Tallow Kachai, Phlung, Nongla, Nungshoung, Wong-hum, Chilho, and the Kukis villages. Those who welcome them think that they are especially blessed fruitfulness of their crops.

85. There are many different ways of disposing the body of a child dying in infancy of that among the Meiteis of Manipur Colonel Shakespeare gives the following account —

A child which dies under three years of age is buried in some place where people are not likely to go, sometime in a deep grave close to the water's edge on a river bank. Some will roast peas are buried with it and the Maiba says 'when these peas spring up, then you may return, not till then'. The spirit of such children are called Suton or Apimali according to sex they are supposed to be extremely malicious, and people walking on their graves are liable to get swollen feet or some eye disease. If the ceremony of burial is not properly performed, the spirit of the child may re-enter the mother's womb and the next child will die in the same manner. Three days after the burial of the child which takes place on the day of birth, the *lai-yang-pat* ceremony has to be performed *yupal* is the libation which a Naga pours out to mother earth, before he drinks, the name has survived, though since the Manipuri became Vaishnavites the *ya* or rice beer has been omitted. A plumeria bunch is taken and beginning at one end the fruits are counted, the counter saying *Chang, etc., "also"* to the first one, then *Si, etc., "dead"* to the second and so on, if the word *Si* falls on the last fruit that bunch is broken, if not, another must be tried. Having got a suitable bunch it is placed in the verandah of the house and with it some betel nut on a leaf and some sort of fruit on another leaf (called *Leiri*) and a loin cloth or petticoat according to the sex of the child and a muslin shawl and, if the child was a boy, also a puggeri. The Maiba now addresses the spirit of the deceased child saying 'we have given you all this food and clothing, be content go and do not return'. The offering becomes the property of the Maiba.

Three months after the burial another and more complicated ceremony has to be performed, but the description is too long to be reproduced here.

86. There are many different methods of name-giving. That among the Totla Rabhas of Kamrup is described as follows —

On the fifth day, i.e. performing the necessary purification ceremonies, a number of relations and friends are called and a fowl is given to a lama or Dwi, who with the stem of a plumeria leaf goes on striking the fowl uttering a name at each stroke. The name which is uttered with the stroke that kills the fowl is given to the child. The fowl is then cooked and eaten by the men present with *nad* (liquor) and *blak*.

Amongst the Tangkhul Nagas the following is the custom —

There are two styles of the name giving, one for the rich and one for the poor. For the rich a pig is killed and offered up to "Kameo" (evil spirit) by the "sherry" (village priest) who proceeds to call out the name of some ancestor or ancestor outside the house. On hearing this name the father in the house calls out "Loh ungra" (it is come here), and from that day the child is called by that name. The poor call in the aid of the "laja", which is the Tangkhul principal shaman and diviner. The Manipuri call it "pava latpi" it is really a strip of split bamboo cut and manipulated to show either a bad or a good sign. They think of a name first and then work the kapa. Owing sometimes to this acting most obstinately and refusing to be favourable, the poor child is then and, then called by the name of "pashli" (male) or "pashli" (female), a bad kapa. The time of giving names is generally at the sixth or fifth day after birth.

Amongst the Rangdoria Rabhas of Goalpara

a fortnight or a month after the birth of the child a feast is given and a pig is sacrificed for the name-giving ceremony. The ceremony of giving the name is the peculiar right of the old woman who has acted as midwife and delivered the child and ent the navel string. She crushes some lucky herb in the hand and invokes blessings on the infant that he may have a long and prosperous life, be wise and happy, successful in his cultivation, and so on. The mother of the child selects the name and very curiously, she is guided in her choice of names by some incident in her own life. For instance, if

the child is a son, he is named after a rejected or unsuccessful lover; if a daughter she gets the name of some rival. This custom of naming sometimes leads to subsequent quarrels when people become talkative over their cups and take up old grievances.

87 Ear piercing is very general but in most cases there are apparently no attendant ceremonies. Amongst the Tangkhul Nagas

ear-piercing takes place at one of three fests after the cultivation work is over at the Man-kap fest in April, at the Longa fest at the beginning of January or at the Kathkarham (Visar, a Thaba in Manipur) fest at the end of January. The men on such occasions kill cow or pigs, still in their relations of love and affection. Before any man is ate by them, the ear-piercing man is called up to do the necessary work, and for the trouble taken is presented with plate of meat and rice. The piercing is done with a pointed bamboo and small bone plug is inserted in the hole. In case the operation may have been badly done a possibility of this is being torn apart the ear-piercing man must remain in the village that day and is not allowed to do any work. The poor do not kill any animals and the ear-piercing man only receives a plate of rice for his trouble. It often happens that the father dies before his child gets ear-pierced. Whatever arrangement has been made by him before his death is carried out by his child as soon as he reaches the age of puberty and takes his place in the social activities of the village. Those children who are destitutes of any means to carry out this, performs so wait till they are old enough to leave the village on a journey and usually go down to the valley and get some place to pierce their ears.

88 Amongst Animistic tribes there does not appear to be any special ceremony in connection with feeding the child for the first time, but the following peculiar custom of the Tangkhul Nagas is worth recording—

There however a peculiar rite in this connection which takes place the day after birth, and it goes by the name of Nas kiten. It is practised by all the Tangkhul without exception I believe. It is done with view to ensure long life and prosperity to the infant. On that day hen is killed and a log of same is cooked a day only salt added to it. If the child is male boy about five or six years of age from among the relatives of the family is called in and made to sit down on a seat in the house. Then the mother of the infant takes it into her room and after roasting over two three, four, five, six, places her child on the boy's lap and also places in his right hand the aforementioned cooked broken log and his left hand pot of rice box which he will be alone, immediately commences to eat both. This ends the ceremony. A female infant demands a female to go through the same ceremony and only two weeks old. All such children are fitted to be the animal food for the deer performed for them if they should happen to die. It sometimes happens that no male or female child can be found among the children to take part in this ceremony. In that case there is no ceremony and the child is named accordingly "Mai-n-a" if male, and "Mai-n-i-a" if a female. It is interesting to know that similar ceremony is carried through for a new-born calf and for newly hatched chi kens.

89 For those who are not Hindus or Muhammadans, the general custom seems to be that the woman is unclean for five or six days after child birth and apart from this there is no seclusion. There are no puberty ceremonies amongst the hill tribes. Among the Blataks of Lakhimpur the following interesting ceremony is practised—

A woman at attained puberty Chai Bud (a old woman) takes her to a corner of the house and allows two or three girl to sleep with her for three nights. No man is permitted to see the girl for these days. On the fourth day, the Chai Bud meets them girl and washes the girl. Then some one goes to consult a priest who ties a yellow thread on which the girl is to be purified. On the fifth day by the purificatory ceremony of Neu Tolasi is performed. This consists in bringing water from distance and bathing the girl within an enclosure formed by pines and palm trees in the court-yard drum are generally beaten during this ceremony. A ceremony of marriage of the girl with a plantain tree is then gone through.

90 Illnesses of children are generally ascribed to evil spirits amongst the Kacharis and Rabhas.

All illness is believed to be caused by spirit. The Jais know which disease is caused by which spirit. Disease in which the patient loses his power or suffers from violent pain is said to be caused by the demons S'ya and S'yan. Griefing of teeth is believed to be caused by smaller pits around Kha tra. Fever & ulcers etc., are said to be caused by M'chi a l'or. The Jais declare by which pint the patient has been seized and the necessary puja with offerings is offered to propitiate it.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I

Distribution by Civil Condition of 1,000 of each Sex, Religion and main Age period at each of the last four Censuses

Religion, sex and age	Unmarried				Married.				Widowed			
	1911	1901	1891	1881	1911	1901	1891	1881	1911	1901	1891	1881
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
ALL RELIGIONS	460	495	470	476	498	405	406	429	103	110	104	95
Male	555	554	562	538	308	399	397	428	47	47	41	34
0-5	1,000	1,000	999	999			1					
5-10	"	997	994	997		3	6	3				
10-15	"	977	973	974	954	22	26	24	45	1	1	1
15-20	"	858	844	847	741	195	147	146	251	7	9	8
20-40	"	237	245	254	205	706	693	703	57	56	43	33
40-60	"	29	87	32	39	618	839	866	123	124	112	96
60 and over	"	21	27	21	27	735	732	749	750	244	230	223
Unspecified	"	423	411	414	411	418	413	416	431	102	176	153
Female	"	1,000	1,000	999	992		1					
0-5	"								8			
5-10	"	978	971	973		21	27	26		1	2	1
10-15	"	716	695	690	676	274	291	323	314	10	14	12
15-20	"	235	216	208	224	722	718	747	715	43	56	45
20-40	"	27	39	32	39	810	783	803	814	157	181	147
40-60	"	6	13	9	12	434	406	427	495	560	581	493
60 and over	"	5	11	7	7	147	129	130	189	845	860	804
Unspecified	"					492			558			10
HINDU	"	471	466	479	474	409	407	401	411	120	127	105
Male	"	549	549	559	539	400	491	392	470	58	57	41
0-5	"	1,000	1,000	1,000	999							
5-10	"	996	993	997		4	6	2		1	2	2
10-15	"	973	971	970	951	26	27	21	47	1	2	3
15-20	"	863	851	870	753	140	134	123	236	7	10	11
20-40	"	253	264	280	229	678	672	663	739	64	64	49
40-60	"	37	46	43	46	816	805	820	845	147	140	100
60 and over	"	26	36	30	34	673	672	700	714	301	292	259
Unspecified	"	394	383	392	404	418	414	410	429	188	203	198
Female	"	1,000	1,000	999	992			1				174
0-5	"					992			8			
5-10	"	971	962	963	963	23	35	31		1	3	1
10-15	"	687	671	643	676	201	312	343	313	12	17	14
15-20	"	223	231	229	216	726	712	724	717	51	67	54
20-40	"	29	38	30	35	789	758	774	802	162	203	163
40-60	"	4	13	9	11	384	361	376	460	612	615	529
60 and over	"	3	8	5	7	101	95	97	171	893	897	878
Unspecified	"					158			289			56*
MUSALMAN	"	508	510	505	494	409	401	409	434	53	59	52
Male	"	581	558	551	546	392	386	396	433	27	26	21
0-5	"	1,000	1,000	999	999			1				
5-10	"	997	995	998		3	5	2				
10-15	"	992	981	979	958	18	16	20	41		1	1
15-20	"	863	855	813	732	13	140	13	265	5	5	3
20-40	"	208	228	205	162	735	737	768	810	37	35	27
40-60	"	14	24	11	16	915	907	927	949	71	69	60
60 and over	"	11	14	7	10	897	825	836	839	161	157	160
Unspecified	"	429	426	424	420	493	417	423	435	143	157	153
Female	"	1,000	999	999	992			1				145
0-5	"					992			8			
5-10	"	981	975	974		18	23	24		1	2	2
10-15	"	677	619	588	670	361	365	401	363	12	15	9
15-20	"	73	62	72	15*	889	871	891	815	5	47	33
20-40	"	10	24	10	27	89	815	850	833	151	149	139
40-60	"	4	8	5	5	81	815	839	521	612	614	471
60 and over	"	4	8	4	3	9*	83	86	185	401	910	831
Unspecified	"					9*			277			
ANDHIST	"	513	506	503	467	405	407	410	474	82	87	57
Male	"	551	515	517	476	493	493	410	476	45	43	23
0-5	"	1,000	1,000	999	999			1				
5-10	"	997	994	996		3	5	4		1	2	2
10-15	"	975	963	97	951	21	30	41	3	9	11	10
15-20	"	873	793	763	66	161	191	171	171	61	61	51
20-40	"	29	193	145	14	73	71	71	71	110	111	108
40-60	"	22	22	23	49	863	867	872	872	203	210	215
60 and over	"	20	18	17	17	770	770	772	772			
Unspecified	"	476	467	461	443	460	444	474	472	118	127	112
Female	"	1,000	1,000	999	999			1				65
0-5	"					999			2			
5-10	"	993	983	977		6	13	13		1	1	1
10-15	"	995	980	874	872	61	192	161	12	4	5	5
15-20	"	750	493	343	317	467	467	470	5	1	1	1
20-40	"	77	75	75	75	813	801	823	823	104	121	121
40-60	"	11	19	17	45	82	82	82	82	74	74	74
60 and over	"	19	21	14	7	31*	273	273	273			
Unspecified	"					31*			1			

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

Distribution by Civil Commissions of 1,000 of each Sex at various ages & each Religions and Nationalities.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III

Distribution by minor age periods and Civil Condition of 10,000 of each Sex and Religion

Religion and age	Males				Females			
	Total	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Total	Unmarried	Married	Widowed
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ALL RELIGIONS ...	10,000	5,544	3,984	472	10,000	4,198	4,179	1,623
0-10	3,046	3,041	5		3,273	3,237	34	2
10-15	1,066	1,041	24	1	926	603	254	9
15-40	3,979	1,410	2,381	189	4,115	289	3,278	548
40 and over	1,909	52	1,374	283	1,686	9	613	1,064
HINDU	10,000	5,423	4,002	576	10,000	3,945	4,176	1,879
0-10	2,842	2,837	5		3,107	3,062	43	2
10-15	1,013	995	27	1	913	627	275	11
15-40	4,151	1,523	2,405	223	4,210	249	3,295	666
40 and over	1,584	68	1,565	301	1,770	7	563	1,200
MUHAMMADAN	10,000	5,808	3,920	272	10,000	4,291	4,275	1,431
0-10	3,243	3,338	5		3,840	3,605	33	2
10-15	1,171	1,150	21		932	584	387	11
15-40	3,110	1,217	2,396	117	4,012	99	3,405	483
40 and over	1,076	28	1,498	155	1,426	6	440	980
ANIMIST	10,000	5,512	4,030	458	10,000	4,762	4,057	1,181
0-10	3,253	3,249	4		3,934	3,223	10	1
10-15	1,039	1,016	22	1	954	864	86	4
15-40	3,656	1,202	2,268	186	3,985	655	2,960	370
40 and over	2,052	45	1,786	271	1,827	20	1,001	806

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV

Proportion of the sexes by Civil Condition at certain ages for Religions and Natural Divisions

Natural Division and Religion	Number of females per 1,000 males.														
	All ages			0-10			10-15			15-40			40 and over		
	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
ASSAM															
All Religions	72	99	3,22	1,001	6,415	12,017	529	9,927	8,79	1,2	1,222	2,74	10	22	3,41
Hindu	70	92	3,21	1,005	6,424	12,020	531	9,931	8,71	1,1	1,213	2,71	9	21	3,41
Muslim	63	1,014	4,79	1,001	5,71	2,333	473	14,719	23,71	1	1,211	2,74	11	23	3,43
Animistic	883	1,621	6,76	1,011	5,17	13,700	8,0	2,52	6,00	1	1,211	2,74	4,8	10,01	3,01
Christian	819	1,017	3,77	1,022	5,77	1,701	526	4,171	4,17	4,0	1,211	2,74	5,7	11,73	1,14
Buddhist	511	703	1,231	913	4,91	1,701	1,70	1,703	—	213	672	1,70	1,70	3,7	1,14
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY															
All Religions	73	91	5,77	994	6,112	6,12	732	6,15	4,72	2	1,223	1,733	1	27	3,42
Hindu (Excluding Golparra)	70	91	5,75	995	6,120	6,12	730	6,13	4,71	1	1,221	1,731	1	27	3,42
Golparra	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Muslim	63	83	5,71	998	6,127	6,12	732	6,15	4,72	1	1,223	1,733	1	27	3,43
Animistic	814	1,002	5,79	1,005	1,023	2,701	621	4,74	11,72	4	1,224	1,734	4	46	1,13
SURMA VALLEY															
All Religions	68	1,018	4,71	1,005	9,76	10,652	473	10,77	18,71	1	1,224	4,72	12	22	3,43
Hindu	65	1,015	4,70	1,003	9,75	10,642	473	10,75	18,73	1	1,223	4,72	11	21	3,43
Muslim	61	1,013	5,72	1,010	8,75	10,600	428	10,73	18,73	1	1,221	4,70	11	21	3,43
HILLS															
All Religions	66	1,026	5,79	1,011	4,75	6,001	51	4,73	8,42	1	1,224	4,72	12	22	3,43
Hindu	63	1,023	5,75	1,018	4,73	6,001	514	4,72	8,42	1	1,221	4,72	11	21	3,43
Muslim	61	1,021	5,72	1,016	4,73	6,000	514	4,72	8,42	1	1,221	4,72	11	21	3,43

SUBSIDIARIA

Distribution by C and C additive of 1,000 of each

Distribution of 1000 pairs of test and fit sites and one

TABLE V

sex at certain ages for selected castes

Distribution of 1 000 females of each age by civil condition.

All ages			0-5			5-12			12-20			20-40			40 and over		
Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed
20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
626	354	120	1 000	-	990	4	734	28	8	25	805	110	3	432	253		
403	420	163	1 000	-	663	34	3	116	602	23	20	631	141	"	311	679	
300	424	276	1 000	"	862	133	5	41	600	59	4	606	309	2	173	825	
268	407	267	990	1	763	109	3	26	921	63	5	722	273	1	197	802	
311	427	232	1,000	-	874	193	4	100	838	61	8	748	214	4	240	746	
492	375	133	1 000	-	903	6	1	673	310	8	36	837	107	5	406	559	
532	310	110	1 000	-	1 000	-	-	592	478	-	40	840	120	-	375	623	
273	415	207	990	1	840	147	7	61	850	90	7	600	333	3	160	831	
314	404	102	990	1	666	111	3	240	701	43	16	707	187	6	307	637	
5-7	401	236	1 000	"	893	102	2	193	700	55	10	737	243	3	242	765	
317	377	276	1 000	-	924	73	4	90	842	59	6	637	307	3	162	843	
520	374	100	1 000	"	933	6	3	721	263	14	42	841	107	4	50	406	
499	402	110	1 000	-	903	7	4	634	47	9	38	677	84	5	492	613	
411	381	178	1 000	-	970	23	1	42	514	14	20	830	150	2	97	701	
303	460	167	1 000	"	930	69	1	316	602	52	20	815	163	5	203	632	
433	390	248	1 000	-	931	67	2	142	810	39	11	733	256	5	201	677	
463	374	173	1 000	-	951	19	-	54	450	15	24	845	141	3	317	650	
450	374	167	1 000	-	957	13	1	563	418	14	20	831	140	4	229	676	
529	3-	281	1 000	"	833	103	2	104	737	60	11	690	274	1	145	624	
233	407	236	1 000	-	864	132	4	57	809	83	-	664	229	2	176	743	
408	383	140	1 000	-	991	5	1	634	427	23	21	821	153	6	412	642	
512	406	82	1 000	-	991	9	-	673	514	13	60	673	67	10	631	559	
486	367	147	1 000	"	990	4	-	546	420	28	31	670	143	-	571	624	
514	433	215	1 000	-	851	112	4	80	898	52	7	731	272	2	213	646	
354	408	259	1 000	"	891	103	4	78	853	62	10	705	265	1	209	63	
203	440	92	953	1	851	135	5	42	931	5	5	720	272	2	12	78	
281	410	200	1 000	-	864	140	6	124	605	65	7	731	272	1	22	630	
323	351	281	1 000	"	912	78	3	57	849	63	5	713	213	2	17	625	
323	412	17-	93	2	91-	8-	1	67	533	70	6	70	272	2	182	643	
372	404	12-	1 000	-	871	2	1	573	44	-	22	857	211	-	42	62	
27	421	220	1 000	-	94	162	6	11	620	62	11	669	272	2	172	6	

Term of relation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209	210	211	212	213	214	215	216	217	218	219	220	221	222	223	224	225	226	227	228	229	230	231	232	233	234	235	236	237	238	239	240	241	242	243	244	245	246	247	248	249	250	251	252	253	254	255	256	257	258	259	260	261	262	263	264	265	266	267	268	269	270	271	272	273	274	275	276	277	278	279	280	281	282	283	284	285	286	287	288	289	290	291	292	293	294	295	296	297	298	299	300	301	302	303	304	305	306	307	308	309	310	311	312	313	314	315	316	317	318	319	320	321	322	323	324	325	326	327	328	329	330	331	332	333	334	335	336	337	338	339	340	341	342	343	344	345	346	347	348	349	350	351	352	353	354	355	356	357	358	359	360	361	362	363	364	365	366	367	368	369	370	371	372	373	374	375	376	377	378	379	380	381	382	383	384	385	386	387	388	389	390	391	392	393	394	395	396	397	398	399	400	401	402	403	404	405	406	407	408	409	410	411	412	413	414	415	416	417	418	419	420	421	422	423	424	425	426	427	428	429	430	431	432	433	434	435	436	437	438	439	440	441	442	443	444	445	446	447	448	449	450	451	452	453	454	455	456	457	458	459	460	461	462	463	464	465	466	467	468	469	470	471	472	473	474	475	476	477	478	479	480	481	482	483	484	485	486	487	488	489	490	491	492	493	494	495	496	497	498	499	500	501	502	503	504	505	506	507	508	509	510	511	512	513	514	515	516	517	518	519	520	521	522	523	524	525	526	527	528	529	530	531	532	533	534	535	536	537	538	539	540	541	542	543	544	545	546	547	548	549	550	551	552	553	554	555	556	557	558	559	560	561	562	563	564	565	566	567	568	569	570	571	572	573	574	575	576	577	578	579	580	581	582	583	584	585	586	587	588	589	590	591	592	593	594	595	596	597	598	599	600	601	602	603	604	605	606	607	608	609	610	611	612	613	614	615	616	617	618	619	620	621	622	623	624	625	626	627	628	629	630	631	632	633	634	635	636	637	638	639	640	641	642	643	644	645	646	647	648	649	650	651	652	653	654	655	656	657	658	659	660	661	662	663	664	665	666	667	668	669	670	671	672	673	674	675	676	677	678	679	680	681	682	683	684	685	686	687	688	689	690	691	692	693	694	695	696	697	698	699	700	701	702	703	704	705	706	707	708	709	710	711	712	713	714	715	716	717	718	719	720	721	722	723	724	725	726	727	728	729	730	731	732	733	734	735	736	737	738	739	740	741	742	743	744	745	746	747	748	749	750	751	752	753	754	755	756	757	758	759	760	761	762	763	764	765	766	767	768	769	770	771	772	773	774	775	776	777	778	779	780	781	782	783	784	785	786	787	788	789	790	791	792	793	794	795	796	797	798	799	800	801	802	803	804	805	806	807	808	809	8010	8011	8012	8013	8014	8015	8016	8017	8018	8019	8020	8021	8022	8023	8024	8025	8026	8027	8028	8029	8030	8031	8032	8033	8034	8035	8036	8037	8038	8039	8040	8041	8042	8043	8044	8045	8046	8047	8048	8049	8050	8051	8052	8053	8054	8055	8056	8057	8058	8059	8060	8061	8062	8063	8064	8065	8066	8067	8068	8069	8070	8071	8072	8073	8074	8075	8076	8077	8078	8079	8080	8081	8082	8083	8084	8085	8086	8087	8088	8089	8090	8091	8092	8093	8094	8095	8096	8097	8098	8099	80100	80101	80102	80103	80104	80105	80106	80107	80108	80109	80110	80111	80112	80113	80114	80115	80116	80117	80118	80119	80120	80121	80122	80123	80124	80125	80126	80127	80128	80129	80130	80131	80132	80133	80134	80135	80136	80137	80138	80139	80140	80141	80142	80143	80144	80145	80146	80147	80148	80149	80150	80151	80152	80153	80154	80155	80156	80157	80158	80159	80160	80161	80162	80163	80164	80165	80166	80167	80168	80169	80170	80171	80172	80173	80174	80175	80176	80177	80178	80179	80180	80181	80182	80183	80184	80185	80186	80187	80188	80189	80190	80191	80192	80193	80194	80195	80196	80197	80198	80199	80200	80201	80202	80203	80204	80205	80206	80207	80208	80209	80210	80211	80212	80213	80214	80215	80216	80217	80218	80219	80220	80221	80222	80223	80224	80225	80226	80227	80228	80229	80230	80231	80232	80233	80234	80235	80236	80237	80238	80239	80240	80241	80242	80243	80244	80245	80246	80247	80248	80249	80250	80251	80252	80253	80254	80255	80256	80257	80258	80259	80260	80261	80262	80263	80264	80265	80266	80267	80268	80269	80270	80271	80272	80273	80274	80275	80276	80277	80278	80279	80280	80281	80282	80283	80284	80285	80286	80287	80288	80289	80290	80291	80292	80293	80294	80295	80296	80297	80298	80299	80300	80301	80302	80303	80304	80305	80306	80307	80308	80309	80310	80311	80312	80313	80314	80315	80316	80317	80318	80319	80320	80321	80322	80323	80324	80325	80326	80327	80328	80329	80330	80331	80332	80333	80334	80335	80336	80337	80338	80339	80340	80341	80342	80343	80344	80345	80346	80347	80348	80349	80350	80351	80352	80353	80354	80355	80356	80357	80358	80359	80360	80361	80362	80363	80364	80365	80366	80367	80368	80369	80370	80371	80372	80373	80374	80375	80376	80377	80378	80379	80380	80381	80382	80383	80384	80385	80386	80387	80388	80389	80390	80391	80392	80393	80394	80395	80396	80397	80398	80399	80400	80401	80402	80403	80404	80405	80406	80407	80408	80409	80410	80411	80412	80413	80414	80415	80416	80417	80418	80419	80420	80421	80422	80423	80424	80425	80426	80427	80428	80429	80430	80431	80432	80433	80434	80435	80436	80437	80438	80439	80440	80441	80442	80443	80444	80445	80446	80447	80448	80449	80450	80451	80452	80453	80454	80455	80456	80457	80458	80459	80460	80461	80462	80463	80464	80465	80466	80467	80468	80469	80470	80471	80472	80473	80474	80475	80476	80477	80478	80479	80480	80481	80482	80483	80484	80485	80486	80487	80488	80489	80490	80491	80492	80493	80494	80495	80496	80497	80498	80499	80500	80501	80502	80503	80504	80505	80506	80507	80508	80509	80510	80511	80512	80513	80514	80515	80516	80517	80518	80519	80520	80521	80522	80523	80524	80525	80526	80527	80528	80529	80530	80531	80532	80533	80534	80535	80536	80537	80538	80539	80540	80541	80542	80543	80544	80545	80546	80547	80548	80549	80550	80551	80552	80553	80554	80555	80556	80557	80558	80559	80560	80561	80562	80563	80564	80565	80566	80567	80568	80569	80570	80571	80572	80573	80574	80575	80576	80577	80578	80579	80580	80581	80582	80583	80584	80585	80586	80587	80588	80589	80590	80591	80592	80593	80594	80595	80596	80597	80598	80599	80600	80601	80602	80603	80604	80605	80606

SUBSIDIARY TABLES

DIX

relationship

a number indicates that the term used is the same as that represented by the number

CHAPTER VIII

EDUCATION

92. The main statistics are contained in Imperial Table VIII which divides the population simply into Literate and Illiterate and shows separately the number of those literate in English. At the last census an attempt was made to give the vernacular in which each person was able to read and write. In 1881 and 1891 the population was divided into persons learning persons literate and persons illiterate, but this return was vitiated by the omission from the number of learners of children not long at school, who were returned as illiterate, and of advanced students who were shown as literate. The experience gained at each census has led to a simplification of the return, and this time in order to establish some standard of literacy it was laid down in the instructions that no one should be shown as able to read and write who could not write a letter to a friend and read the reply the object being to exclude people who could merely write their names. As was explained in the last Census Report there is a danger that at the time of compilation omissions of literates will occur because they form such a small proportion of the total population this time in the case of one district, Khasi and Jaintia Hills the original figures showed a decline in literacy and the work had to be done over again, with the result that an increase was ultimately obtained.

92. In Assam out of a population of 7,059,856, there were returned in 1911 as Extent of literacy having reached the standard of literacy above mentioned 833,072 persons, of whom 512,010 were males and 207,13 were females in other words (see Subsidiary Table II) in every thousand of the

ASSAM — MALE LITERACY



education amongst the Khasis of whom such a large proportion have been converted to Christianity. As in 1901 Cachar plains are the most advanced part of the province and are followed by Khasi and Jaintia Hills. Sylhet and Kamrup come next with 11 literates per mile, then follow Darrang. Ellsagar, Lakhimpur and Goalpara. Darrang the remaining district of the Brahmaputra Valley stands below Lushai Hills, where there are no less than 81 males per mile who can read and write. The last three in order of precedence are Manipur, Garo Hill and Naga Hills.

The high position of Cachar has been maintained since 1901; I am at a loss to discover the cause and can only suggest that the fact of its being a small and temperately settled district has made the people more progressive than the brothers in Sylhet and bring their needs more before the eyes of the district authorities. Darrang

in every thousand of either sex there were 86 literate men and 6 literate women. The Sylhet Valley stands first with 100 males and 7 females per mile of the population. In the Brahmaputra Valley the proportions are 80 and 6 respectively and in the Hills 47 and 8 the last division thus takes the first place in the matter of female education. This distribution is natural in view of the conditions of each tract the large number of immigrant coolies and of aboriginal tribes tends to lower the proportion of literates in the Brahmaputra Valley and the comparatively high standard of literacy in the Hills is due mainly to the progress of

probably owes its superiority over Sibsagar and Lakhimpur to the large number of coolie immigrants in these two districts, and Goalpara is backward, because its Hindu population has not long been converted and it is still practically a border district, which is only now being opened up. Darrang contains a large proportion of the coolie class in addition to the Animists of the Bodo stock. Amongst the Animists in the Hills the Lushais seem to have an extraordinary keenness for learning, which is the more remarkable, because the administration of their district dates to quite recent times, but their advancement was a marked feature in 1901 and has been progressive since then.

Looking at the ages in Subsidiary Table II we see that the proportion of literates aged 15—20 is higher for both sexes than that at any other age period. This is a very satisfactory result and shows that education is progressing, because we may assume that the literates in this age group represent the children who have been under instruction during the last five years and have learned at least enough to reach the standard of literacy prescribed. That this high proportion holds good in each natural division shows that the rate of progress is not confined to any one part, but is general all over the province. Indeed the only district in which there is an apparently serious decrease at this age period is Goalpara, where the males aged 20 and over are 17 per mille more numerous, but even there the female proportion at the crucial age is high. So that taking it all round, there is every reason for satisfaction at the present position.

94 Subsidiary Tables I and III enable us to consider the relative progress of the four main religions. The proportion of literates is highest amongst Christians, who include of course the European

community, but Indian Christians are very much more advanced than their fellow countrymen, as will be seen from Subsidiary Table I where separate figures are shown for them. This result is due to the efforts of missionaries to spread education, and the very high proportion of literacy among Indian female Christians shows how successful they have been. Hindus naturally take precedence of the other religions. Muhammadans have generally up to recent times refused to recognize any advantage in education, and amongst the Animistic tribes, who are usually backward, the literates mostly become Christians. We should exclude the Hills when considering the education of Hindus and Muhammadans, because there the followers of these two religions are nearly all foreigners, usually in Government service. In the plains the Hindus of Sylhet stand first with 158 male literates per mille and are followed in order by those in Nowgong, Kamrup and Cachar plains. Muhammadans are more advanced in the Brahmaputra Valley, where there must be a large proportion of literates amongst the immigrant Moslems, than in the Surma Valley, where they are practically all cultivators but the figures of female literacy in Nowgong, Sibsagar and Lakhimpur would point to the conclusion that the local Muhammadan community of these districts is really very advanced. It is not improbable that the general freedom of women amongst their Hindu neighbours has led by imitation to this desirable result. Lushai Animists have a higher proportion of male literates than the Khasis, because of the large number of Christians among the latter the Gaios and the Nagas are most backward of all the Animists including those in the plains, whose strong attraction to Hinduism should lower their proportion of literates.

95 Subsidiary Table VI gives the proportion of literates and of literates in English in a number of selected castes as might be expected. Literacy by caste

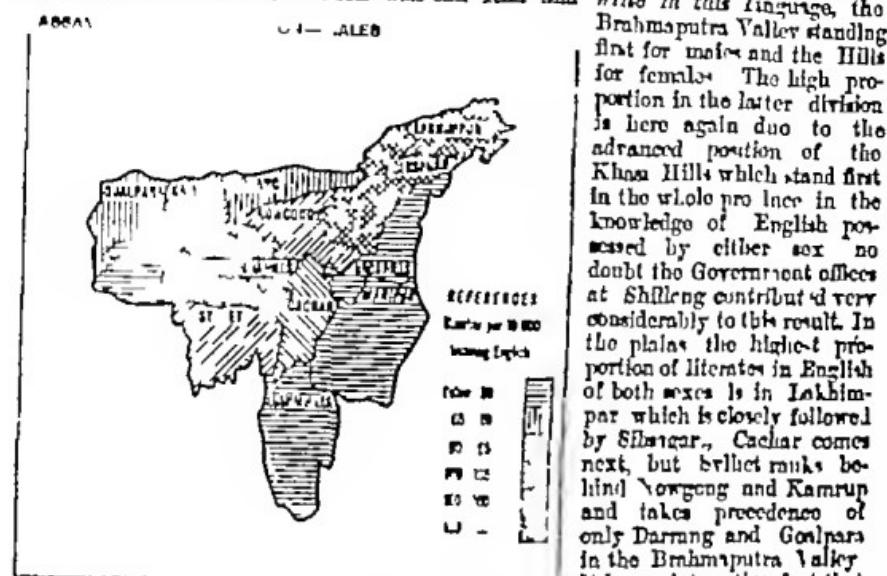
The most advanced are the higher castes, the Baidyas, the Kayasthas and the Brahmans, the number of literate persons per mille amongst them being 560,360 and 324, respectively. After them there is a huge gap and the Telis are the only other community with more than 10 per cent of literates. The Baruis and Sulras of the Surma Valley come next and are followed by the Chasi Kaibarttas or Mahishas, who really belong to the same locality. The first of the castes peculiar to the Brahmaputra Valley is the Kalita in which only 79 persons per thousand can read and write. Of the race castes, the Ahoms stand first with 61 literate per mille and the second are the Rajbausis with 56. The next in order are the Chutiyas, the Manipuri Kshattriyas, and the Hindu Kaetharis, the lowest in the list are the Mikirs, among whom there are only 3 literates per thousand and not a single female who has received the merest rudiments of education.

Although it is anticipating the next paragraph, it may not be out of place to glance at the extent of literacy in English by castes. The number of females who know English is generally so low that with the exception of the three high castes mentioned above they may be neglected, though it is interesting to note that one woman per 10,000 has received some sort of an English education amongst the Goalas, Chasi Kaibarttas, Kewats, Nadials, and Tantis. The Baidyas are overwhelmingly first in

the number of both sexes who are literate in English, and the Khasis and Brahmins follow in the same order as for general literacy. The Ahoms, Khillis and Assamis are the next most advanced, but they are a very long way behind the higher castes. The relatively high position of these castes is confirmed by the statistics of the Brahmaputra Valley generally which are given in the following paragraph.

98 Proportional statistics of literacy in English by age and locality are given in English education. Subsidiary Table IV and by religion in Subsidiary Table I.

In the whole province there are only 91 males and 4 females out of 10 000 of either sex who can read and write in this language, the



in the plains female education in English is most advanced in the east of the province presumably on account of the absence of the purdah system. In the hills the people of North Cachar stand second, the Lushais are a bad third and are followed in order by the Manipuri Nagas and Garos. It is noteworthy that in the plains the knowledge of English is more widespread in the tea districts than elsewhere if we exclude Dibrang which is very backward in the matter of education. This is in part due to the proportionately large number of Europeans in these districts, but this factor will not wholly account for the figures and we may assume that it is due to the desire for employment on tea gardens; Sylhet which takes the third place in general literacy sinks to the seventh in English education and Kamrup becomes the sixth in third of the fourth.

The statistics by age periods indicate that the present conditions are very favourable for progress in each natural division and for both sexes the number at the first period 15—20 being higher than that at any other period. It would appear that the Khasi Hills will maintain its supremacy as far as families are concerned, but that it will soon fall behind Sivasagar in the proportion of males who know English. In fact it looks as if the progress of English education amongst boys in the Khasi Hills had received a check, because the proportion at the age period 20 and over is greater than that between 15 and 20, but this is probably temporary and may be due to the mortality among children noticed at the last census.

Turning to the statistics by religion we find that Christians are an easy first and that the exclusion of Christians other than Indian does not alter this superiority. Of the rest, Hindus have the greatest proportion and are followed in order by Buddhists, Mohammedans and Animists.

Now that we have considered the present extent of literacy by locality religion and caste, the important question of the progress of education may be taken up. The materials are contained in Subsidiary Tables IV, V and VI & VII of which the most important is Table V which shows the progress in literacy since 1891. There is a difficulty with regard to the censuses before 1901 owing to the attempt made to show those learning separately

and casting the important question of the progress of education.

Subsidiary Tables IV, V and VI & VII of which the most important is Table V which shows the progress in literacy since 1891. There is a difficulty with regard to the censuses before 1901 owing to the attempt made to show those learning separately

from the literate the statistics given in Subsidiary Table V for 1891 take no account of persons under 15 years of age and include in the number of literates persons over that age who were shown in 1891 as learning unfortunately it is impossible to do the same for 1881, because separate age statistics for the learners and the literates are not available Taking the proportion per mille for all ages we find continual progress and a remarkable advance since the last census there are now 86 males and 6 females able to read and write per thousand of either sex against 67 and 4, respectively, in 1901 and 62 and 2 in 1891 The rate of increase is highest in the Brahmaputra Valley and lowest in the Hills, where there are apparent decreases since 1901 in North Cachar and Naga Hills, due in the former case to the removal of the railway construction staff and in the latter to the reduction of the regimental strength at Kohima In the Brahmaputra Valley the increase of male literacy since 1901 has been no less than 46.5 per cent, in the Siema Valley over 20 per cent and in the Hills 17.5 per cent of the districts, Nowgong has made the greatest advance, almost 76 per cent The rate of progress in female education is also very high, though the actual numbers affected is small there are now 50 per cent more females able to read and write than there were ten years ago and 200 per cent more than in 1891 in the intercensal period the proportion in the Brahmaputra Valley has increased by 66 per cent and in the Siema Valley by 75 per cent, but has declined a little in the Hills, mainly owing to a fall in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills It will be noticed that the decrease of literacy amongst the females of this district co-exists with the absence of any progress amongst the males I have noted in the introductory paragraph of this chapter that the figures at first compiled showed an absolute decrease in the total number of literates and that an absolute increase was eventually obtained but we are faced with the proportional decrease Enquiries regarding the cause of this brought to light an interesting fact, which is vouched for by Rev. Mr J Evans of the Welsh Mission, who is Head Master of the Shillong High School and has extensive experience of education amongst the Khasis It appears that there are large numbers of Khasis who can read but cannot write at the last census such persons were wrongly entered as literate, and probably would have been again so returned but for the rule about reading and writing a letter which was introduced at this census enquiries made amongst missionaries and others in charge of census operations in the district point to the conclusion that in most cases, but not all, such people were now shown as illiterate The causes of this curious phenomenon are two firstly, in a simple community a knowledge of writing is unimportant and the people seem to regard primary education mainly as a means towards reading the Bible and the hymns secondly, the missionaries, whose main object is to evangelise, are not inclined to force the children to stay on at school against the wishes of their parents once they have advanced far enough to read The result is that we have a large number who, though passed out of school, have not attained the standard of education prescribed for census purposes

The test age period shows the same remarkable progress in the province as a whole there are now 126 literate males and 12 literate females per mille of those aged 15—20 in comparison with 92 and 8 at the last census In the Brahmaputra Valley the increase amongst males since 1901 has been nearly 52 per cent, in the Siema Valley nearly 32 per cent and in the Hills nearly 24 amongst females the corresponding rates are 66 per cent and 53 per cent in the two valleys, but in the Hills there has been a drop of 10 per cent mainly owing to the decrease amongst the Khasis

I think that it will not be disputed that the great advance in education within the last ten years is due partly to the fact that more money was available for this purpose and partly to the method in which the sums allotted were spent The introduction of the system of payment by results in public primary schools has resulted, as will be seen from Subsidiary Table VII, in an increase since 1901 of 21.6 per cent in the number of schools and of 53.3 per cent in the number of pupils The theory on which the system is based, i.e., that the popularity of education depends more on the teacher than on the people, seems to be confirmed by the statistics There are equally encouraging results in secondary education though the number of public schools has grown by only 4.6 per cent, the pupils attending them have increased by over 49 per cent The results of the University examinations given in Subsidiary Table VIII show the same advance there were nearly twice as many candidates for the Entrance Examination in 1911 as there were in 1901 and the same proportion succeeded in passing The number

of those who pass the First Arts in a single year has more than quadrupled since the last census, while apparently the number of those graduating has risen from 41 in 1901 to 7 in 1911. The statistics given in Subsidary Tables IX and X show the development in publications. The number of periodicals has increased from 8 to 19 within the last ten years and their total circulation has more than doubled; there are no daily papers yet but we have now 8 weeklies in comparison with 3 in 1901; their total circulation, however, is so small that it is evident that the reading public are very few outside the Khasi Hills, where the number of copies issued has increased nearly ten times since 1901 and apparently one person in forty is a subscriber. An interesting feature is the fact that two monthlies are now published in Lumhai. The number of books published in the last decade has increased by nearly 65 per cent. in comparison with the previous intercensal period, in spite of the incompleteness of the figures for 1905, 1906 and 1908 and probably for 1903. The apparent decrease in Bengali publications is due to the fact that Calcutta is an easier printing centre for authors in that language, and it is probable that books in other languages intended for Assam were also printed and published there.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I

Education by age, sex and religion

Religion	Number per mille who are literate												Number per mille who are literate in English		
	All ages.			0-10		10-15		15-20		20 and over.					
	Total	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female			Male	Female
1 -	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	
All ..	47	86	6	15	2	94	11	126	12	121	7	5	9		
Hindu ..	65	119	8	23	8	134	14	172	15	159	8	7	13		
Musalman ..	31	57	2	9	1	63	4	81	4	87	2	2	5		
Christian ..	169	253	124	20	24	232	179	387	232	368	152	63	92	33	
{ Indian Christian (including Fe- ringis)	159	218	105	84	59	Age 10-15		382	223	298	120	28	43	13	
Other Christians ..	891	926	814	250	350			871	630	1,000	983	879	917	795	
Animistic ..	7	13	1	1		18	2	23	2	20	1	1	1		
Buddhist ...	68	113	5	7	1	81	5	149	3	150	7	4	6		
Others ..	540	661	126	127	50	627	155	781	101	724	150	44	49	29	

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II

Education by age, sex and locality

District and Natural Division	Number per mille who are literate												20 and over		
	All ages			0-10		10-15		15-20		20 and over					
	Total	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female			Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12				
ASSAM ..	47	86	6	15	2	94	11	126	12	121	7				
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY ...	47	85	5	13	2	93	9	129	10	119	5				
Goalpara ..	41	74	4	10	1	71	7	94	6	111	5				
Ramrup ..	54	102	5	14	2	128	9	172	12	144	5				
Darrang ..	34	62	3	8	1	53	4	86	7	87	3				
Nowgong ..	51	95	5	18	2	113	11	141	11	135	5				
Sibsagar ..	50	90	6	15	2	98	10	143	12	123	6				
Lakhimpur ..	45	69	5	12	2	82	11	121	11	109	6				
SUBHA VALLEY ...	55	100	7	21	3	112	11	142	11	139	7				
Cachar plains ..	61	110	8	23	4	119	11	157	13	131	8				
Sylhet ..	54	98	6	20	2	110	11	139	11	126	7				
HILLS ..	27	47	8	4	2	42	14	73	16	63	10				
Garo Hills ..	12	21	2	1	..	17	3	40	5	31	3				
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ...	55	61	31	10	7	60	56	117	63	114	34				
North Cachar ..	27	47	4	1	2	24	4	38	8	27	6				
Naga Hills ..	9	16	1	1	-	11	1	21	2	24	1				
Manipur ..	21	49	1	4	-	41	2	66	2	60	2				
Lushai Hills ..	40	61	3	2	-	45	4	119	7	124	2				

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

District and Muzrai Division.	Number per mili who are literate							
	Brahmo.		Hindoo.		Christian.		Animist.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ASAM								
Brahmo Sabha V LIT	119	8	57	2	233	13	12	1
Brahmo Sabha V LIT	101	6	74	2	213	80	12	
Gauhati	--	98	22	1	161	81	9	
Kamrup	179	6	63	6	301	111	11	
Darrang	79	4	25	2	31	77	9	
Nongong	123	6	123	17	263	179	11	
Silchar	93	5	171	16	155	73	8	
La Jhumper	81	4	209	14	127	71	15	
Strana V LIT	181	12	45	1	454	23	13	1
Cachar plain	126	10	81	1	471	211	16	
Byllai	165	12	60	1	493	200	13	
Hailakandi	90	8	73	2	238	137	11	
Garo Hills	67	8	21	1	213	87	8	
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	346	129	24	16	671	105	20	
New Cachar	--	71	6	160	46	423	285	6
Meghalaya	270	8	238	12	61	10	22	
Manipur	62	3	1	2	279	417	2	
Lachit Hills	269	12	361	—	429	73	45	1

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV

E-mail accessibility vs. user load /

District and Taluk Division	Literacy in English per 10,000.										Per cent.	
	1911.											
	0-10.		11-20.		21-30.		30 and over.		All ages.			
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females		
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	
1	2	2	4	4	6	7	6	9	12	12	12	
ASAM	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	-	-	4	2	22	6	184	6	94	4	81	
Gauhati	--	--	4	—	10	3	225	6	125	3	72	
Kamrup	-	-	4	—	10	3	225	2	99	3	55	
Darrang	-	-	3	—	41	3	111	2	129	6	68	
Xerpaing	-	-	3	—	41	3	115	2	129	6	68	
Namer	--	--	2	—	14	2	321	7	210	6	132	
Lakhimpur	--	--	3	2	111	6	278	12	255	3	172	
2nd VALLEY	-	-	2	—	90	8	177	3	122	3	54	
Cachar plain	-	-	2	—	119	7	295	6	147	7	132	
Sylhet	-	-	2	—	91	2	135	4	117	3	63	
Hills	-	-	4	2	47	16	114	21	12	16	21	
Garo Hill	-	-	-	-	8	—	22	6	22	3	11	
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	-	-	1	—	21	7	163	11	212	6	103	
Kirat Country	--	--	1	—	22	—	113	13	173	13	172	
Kaga Hills --	-	-	1	—	—	3	44	4	22	3	22	
Meitei	-	-	1	—	61	2	74	6	43	6	61	
1. Total of II & III	-	-	2	2	—	—	12	3	24	1	12	

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.
Progress of education since 1881

District and Natural Division	Number of literate per mille																	
	All ages.						15-20						20 and over					
	Male			Female			Male			Female			Male			Female		
	1911	1901	1901	1891*	Literacy	1891*	1911	1901	1901	1891*	Literacy	1891*	1911	1901	1911	1901	1911	1901
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
ASAM																		
Brahmaputra Valley	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11
Gauhati	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Morap	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Darrang	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Nongon	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Sibsagar	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Lakshimpur	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Barpeta Valley	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11
Cachar Plains	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11
Salal	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Hills	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Kaziranga Hills	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
North Cachar	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
North Hill	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Manipur	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Laok Hill	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10

* As no statistics for 1891 are not available, the figures for learning and literacy are shown separately; persons over 15 years of age who were returned as learning to 1891 have been treated as literate.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI

Education by caste

Caste	Number per 1,000 who are literate								Number per 1,000 who are literate in English								
	1911				1901				1911				1901				
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Ahom	61	114	3	31	59	2	88	168	2	50	97	1	73	1,409	2,634	31	73
Baidya	56	72	362	419	593	296	2,373	1,213	160	17	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Parai	96	181	5	18	197	5	41	80	3	6	34	1	8	592	47	24	8
Bhunimali	20	18	1	11	26	1	6	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Brahman	375	616	34	297	517	27	439	89	11	50	592	34	47	1,541	2,151	21	47
Chutiya (Hindu)	50	96	2	24	46	41	60	60	1	7	14	1	8	1	1	1	1
Chutiya (Animistic)	13	25	"	24	45	1	3	7	1	9	16	1	8	1	1	1	1
Dhoba	23	42	"	24	49	3	13	21	1	7	14	1	8	1	1	1	1
Goals	31	54	"	23	49	2	18	25	1	9	16	1	8	1	1	1	1
Jogi	9	111	"	18	34	1	59	111	1	9	18	1	8	1	1	1	1
Kaibarta Chasi (Mahishya)	52	149	"	18	37	1	73	73	1	9	18	1	8	1	1	1	1
Kaobari (Hindu)	46	83	"	18	37	1	59	131	1	9	18	1	8	1	1	1	1
Kachari (Animist)	7	34	"	7	14	2	3	3	1	7	14	1	8	1	1	1	1
Kalita	73	147	5	50	93	2	81	156	49	81	81	1	81	1	1	1	1
Kamar	15	86	2	23	43	2	18	43	1	10	19	1	10	1	1	1	1
Kayastha	169	569	118	279	471	51	919	1,541	21	192	911	21	911	1	1	1	1
Kewat	59	113	3	17	71	2	60	118	1	29	56	1	29	1	1	1	1
Koch	45	86	2	24	49	1	43	64	1	16	31	1	16	1	1	1	1
Kumhar	11	85	1	23	41	1	11	62	1	10	18	1	10	1	1	1	1
Lehatriya (Manipuri)	48	94	2	17	102	2	21	59	1	6	13	1	6	13	1	6	13
Malo	19	35	1	22	37	2	4	7	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Mikir	3	7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Nadial	37	70	3	20	37	2	28	54	1	10	21	1	10	1	1	1	1
Homasudra	23	43	1	11	26	1	20	42	1	11	21	1	11	1	1	1	1
Nepit	64	123	3	47	87	3	20	40	1	11	21	1	11	1	1	1	1
Paini	16	67	4	39	68	1	8	16	1	10	19	1	10	1	1	1	1
Rajbinal	56	107	2	39	110	215	7	54	105	17	33	12	17	21	9	21	1
Endra	59	169	8	110	110	1	10	19	1	10	19	1	10	1	9	18	1
Sutidhar	49	91	2	21	61	1	10	19	1	10	19	1	10	1	9	18	1
Tanti	9	17	1	18	21	3	15	28	1	14	27	1	14	1	13	20	1
Teli	103	202	11	56	104	3	51	99	1	14	27	1	14	1	13	20	1

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII

Number of Institutions and Pupils according to the returns of the Education Department

Class of Institution.	1911.		1910.		1901.	
	Number of		Number of		Number of	
	Institutions	Scholars	Institutions	Scholars	Institutions	Scholars
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
ALL KINDS	4,714	168,460	3,155	109,500	2,610	76,743
Pri. Institutions ..	2,939	162,103	2,190	104,303	1,333	72,905
At Colleges and High schools ..	1	20,666	1,000	13,880	" 110	10,000
Primary ..	3,614	130,527	1,006	89,000	1,211	64,111
Training ..	9	301	22	840	10	451
Other pecial ..	113	4,39	17	849	7	10
Prv. to Institutions	176	6,057	187	5,491	88	5,780
Advanced	19	710	60	2,431	80	18
Literary ..	"	351	1	18	19	40
Teaching, &c., ran only	117	39,7	100	2,916	16	3,165
With books not forming part of the depart- mental standard ..	1	1,020	6	27	8	307

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII

Merits of University Examinations

Description	1911.		1910.		1901.	
	Calcutta	Pres.	Calcutta	Pres.	Calcutta	Pres.
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1						
Admission (Entrance)	3,44	—	18	—	17	0
P. A. or I. Intermediate examination	73	—	17	22	15	—
1st B. A. or 1st B. Sc.	—	10	7	—	—	—
Legislative Art.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Male ..	—	—	—	—	—	—
Law ..	—	—	—	—	—	—
C. I. E. papers ..	—	—	—	—	—	—

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX
Number and circulation of newspapers, etc.

Language	Class of newspapers: (daily, weekly, etc.)	1911		1901	
		No	Circulation	No	Circulation
1	2	3	4	5	6
TOT L		19	11,800	8	5,055
I English	" { Weekly " fortnightly	1 8 1 4 1 1 1	1,000 1,800 100 2,710 0 1,710 472	2 12 1 1 1 1 1	1,175 1,615 00 1,500 00 00 00
II Assamese	" { Weekly " monthly	"	"	1	1,500
III Bengali ..	{ Monthly " Bi-monthly	1	375	1	400
IV Bengali English	{ Weekly " fortnightly " monthly	1	812	1	500
V Assam	Monthly	2	870	2	600
VI Assam	Monthly	7	5,600	2	600

SUBSIDIARY TABLE X
Number of books published in each language

Language	Number of books published in										Total (in d. and)		
	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1901 to 1910	1901 to 1900	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
TOTAL	25	37	6	21	20	16	78	19	60	59	313	208	
Farsi	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	10	10	
Assamese	7	20	1	16	17	10	48	0	53	29	160	86	
Assam English	"	"	1	1	2	1	1	2	"	1	0	4	
Bengali	"	"	4	6	1	6	6	10	9	13	17	60	
Bengali English	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	1	1	1	1	
Turk	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	1	"	"	1	1	
Khasi	"	"	7	7	3	1	"	2	1	7	6	31	
Khasi English	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	2	2	
Khasi Latin	"	"	"	"	1	"	"	"	"	"	1	2	
Khasi-Kenall	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	1	1	
Garo	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	1	1	
Garo-English	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	1	1	1	
Manipuri	"	"	"	1	"	"	"	"	"	"	1	1	
Nagri	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	8	6	5	16	16	
Sor Kurit	"	"	"	"	"	2	"	"	"	1	3	4	
Sanskrit Bengali	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	2	2	2	
Sanskrit-Assamese	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	2	2	2	
Sanskrit English	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	2	2	2	

NOTE.—(1) The figures for 1905, 1906 and 1908 are incomplete, but no further information is available.
(2) The figures in columns 10 and 11 against Bengali include 3 and 4 books respectively in Musalmuni Bengali.

CHAPTER IX.

LANGUAGE

98 The publication of the volumes of the Linguistic Survey since the last census has rendered superfluous a great deal of discussion which might otherwise have entered into in this chapter.

Scope of chapter
Besides this, the subject was very extensively treated by Mr Gait in 1891 and by Mr Allan in the last Census Report. It is worthy of mention, however, that the present returns disclose the names of three new languages, Vaiphei, Ojoto and Tarau, of which Chote alone appears in the Linguistic Survey, the other two have been added on the authority of Colonel Shakespear Political Agent in Manipur who reports that the names represent Kuki clans which were shown together under some other heading at the last census, and have now been differentiated by his enquiries in connection with a monograph on the Kukis. It may be noted that no attempt has been made in Imperial Table X or in the Subsidiary Tables of this Chapter to make any rearrangement based on birth place or religion—indeed the only language which afforded us opportunity for this was Hindi, but in view of its unimportance in Assam I decided to leave the figures stand without any adjustment.

99 The scheme of classification of languages given in the last India Census Report has been modified on the suggestion of Sir G. Grierson.

Scheme of classification
Report in accordance with later investigations by the Linguistic Survey. There are a number of changes as far as Assam is concerned. A close connection has been established between Munda and the Mon khmer family which includes Khasi—these have now been placed together as branches of what is called the Austroasiatic family and the Dravidian-Munda family of 1891 no longer exists. Sir G. Grierson would cancel the section of the last India Census Report dealing with the Tibeto-Himalayan branch, the true facts of which are contained in Volume III, Part I of the Linguistic Survey. Mikir is no longer classed as being in the Nagas-Bodo sub-group following Sir C. J. Lyall's arguments in the Mikir Monograph. Sir G. Grierson now considers it as a connecting link between the Nagas and the Kuki Chins and most nearly related to the southern Chin group. In Imperial Table X the languages have been arranged alphabetically within varying subordinate divisions. It would have taken up too much space to give all the appropriate headings and an alphabetical arrangement was considered easier for the ordinary reader while the expert would not lose very much thereby. The classification of the Linguistic Survey is shown in Subsidiary Table I for all but very minor languages. In order that the reader may have a general idea of the system I give herewith the main lines of division so far as Assam is concerned. There are four main families, viz.—Austroasiatic, Tibeto-Chinese, Dravidian and Indo-European. The first contains the Mon khmer and Munda sub-families. The second is divided into two sub-families, Tibeto-Burman and Siamero-Chinese, of which the former contains three branches, Tibeto-Himalayan, North Assam, and South Burmese, and the latter two groups of which the Tai group only is found in Assam. The Dravidian family is spoken only by ten coolies and is divided into the Dravida and Andhra groups with Gond as a connecting link between the two. The Kyan sub-family of the Indo-European family is made up of the Eastern and the Indian branches of which the latter is divided into a non-Sanskrit and a Sanskritic sub-branch. It is only with eastern group of the latter that we are mainly concerned, for it contains Assamese, Boniali, Bihari and Oriya; there are five other groups based on geographical considerations.

100 I am afraid that the return of language in Assam will always be marred by a certain amount of inaccuracy though no doubt the accuracy of the return error will show a gradual diminution at each successive census. It is probable that the statistics now given more nearly represent facts than those of 1891 but it is impossible to say that they are entirely free from error. The causes of inaccuracy were referred to in paragraph 1 of the last Census Report. The language of the large foreign population is often return 1 as Bengali and most of the aboriginal tribes in the plains are bilingual and are just as likely to return Assamese for their mother tongue as their own language. As an example of the difficulty of correct enumeration I may mention the case of the Deputy

Commissioner of Lakhimpur, who had a list prepared of the different languages spoken by ex coolie settlers the enumerators, blindly following a rule of thumb, were satisfied that they were carrying out their orders with precision when they entered the parents as speaking Hindi and their infant born in Lakhimpur as speaking Assamese. As a matter of fact it is very difficult to say what language these settlers speak it is usually a *patois* picked up on the gaiden which recruited them and has a vocabulary made up of Hindi, Bengali and Assamese words in proportions varying according to the tea district and to the district of recruitment Hindi predominates in Lakhimpur, but in other districts the number of Assamese words increases westwards and eventually the dialect becomes Assamese with a mixture of Bengali or Hindi words. To the Assamese enumerator of the eastern Brahmaputra Valley these dialects are all one, i.e., foreign, which in Assamese is translated by the word Bengali. To quote the words of the Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpur —

The main difficulty arose over the language, as even the clerks could not generally distinguish Hindi as spoken in Bhagalpur and Chota Nagpur from Bengali indeed but for my having served for seven years in Bihar, the census would have shown many thousands more Bengali speakers even Central Provinces and United Provinces coolies were repeatedly entered as speaking Bengali others avoided the difficulty by entering Tanti *Bhasha*, Manjhi *Bhasha* and so on, or such names as Raipuri, Bilaspuri, besides the ever-green 'deshwali'. The east coast coolies were continually a difficulty and it was easier to find out what their language was not than what it was.

101. A further difficulty arose in Goalpara According to the Linguistic Survey

The language question in Goalpara. the dialect of western and south western Goalpara is pure Rajbansi, a Bengali dialect in use in the north-east of the Rajshahi Division, while in the eastern part of the

district the dialect is western Assamese, i.e., Assamese influenced by the neighbouring Rajbansi Bengali the main divergencies between this dialect and standard Assamese will be found on page 414 of Volume V, Part I, of the Linguistic Survey It would appear, then, that expert opinion has decided that the people of the east of Goalpara speak Assamese. The number of people returned as speaking the latter language at the last four censuses in Goalpara is given in the margin it shows the

1881	108,153	rapid decline up to 1901 and sudden rise at the present
1891	27,595	census From local enquiries during the last cold weather (1911-1912) it would appear that the language of
1901	11,397	Hindus in the east of at least Dhubri subdivision was
1911	85,329	shown as Assamese mixed with Bengali in the schedules of 1901, and apparently this was classed as Bengali in the tables, though Sir G. Grierson is of opinion that it is Assamese. The Goalpara district schedules of the present census contained very many corrections in the language column, and on examination it was discovered that, though parents born in Kamrup were shown as speaking Assamese, those of their children, living in the same house, who were born in Goalpara, were returned as speaking Bengali, while their brothers born in Kamrup apparently followed their parents. The absurdity of this led to further enquiries which showed that in a few instances persons born in Rangpur and living in the west of Dhubri subdivision were returned as Assamese speakers. It appeared then that the returns were vitiated, mostly in the direction of showing less Assamese and more Bengali speakers than really existed.

At my request the Commissioner of the Assam Valley consented to have the schedules checked on the spot during the last cold weather. It came to light that there was a good deal of local feeling on the subject, and that changes from original entries of Assamese to Bengali had been made under the orders of the Census Officer of the district and some Charge Superintendents. In order to obviate further difficulties on the score of racial prejudice, the enquiry was made personally by Mr F. M. Clifford, Deputy Commissioner, and Mr J. E. Friend-Petrea, Subdivisional Officer the former, limiting his investigations to the Sidhi and Bijni Duars in the east of Dhubri subdivision, visited nearly every village inhabited by people other than Meches and questioned them, the latter enquired locally in Goalpara subdivision into all entries which he marked as doubtful on the score of caste and birth-place. The result of the enquiry was to show an increase in Assamese speakers of 30,607 and a decrease in Bengali speakers of 30,907, the difference representing people who should have been shown as speaking Rabha (251), Hindi (26), Garo (20), Mech (2), and Pashto (1). From an inspection of the schedules, I would deduct 500 from the increase in Assamese speakers and add it to the number of Bengali speakers, to allow for wrong entries in the west of Dhubri subdivision. On this basis we get

Assamese	115,436	the number of those speaking either language as shown
Bengali	317,365	in the margin Imperial Table X shows the numbers as actually returned in the schedules without any adjustment and I should be inclined to say that the estimated figures given above are, if anything, an under-statement of those speaking Assamese

In view of the rather vague ideas which have hitherto existed on the language question of Goalpara district, it is desirable that the facts as they exist should be shown separately for either subdivision. Sir G. Grierson's view points to the conclusion that Dhubri subdivision is Bengali-speaking and Goalpara subdivision Assamese-speaking. We must overlook Christians and followers of minor religions, because statistics for them are available for the district only but their number is so small that it is really negligible. The numbers of speakers of either language in both subdivisions as

1 per 10,000.

	Bengali	Assamese
Dhubri	203,417	3,826
Goalpara	44,236	81,857
11 per 10,000.		
Dhubri	257,180	20,116
Goalpara	30,077	95,233

enumerated and as revised by local enquiries in the manner indicated above are shown in the margin. It is clear that in Goalpara subdivision the predominant language is Assamese, and equally clear that Bengali is the language of Dhubri subdivision. Indeed in the latter the number of those speaking Mechi or plains Kachari, 50,528, is greater than that of the Assamese speakers, while in Goalpara 30,091 persons returned Mechi or Kachari as their mother tongue and they are more numerous than those who speak Bengali, as ascertained by local enquiry.

102. Subsidiary Table I shows the total number of speakers of the important languages in thousands in 1901 and 1911 and their proportion

Linguistic distribution.
per mille of the population in the latter year. It will not be inappropriate to consider in turn each of the four main families referred to above

Austroasiatic	-	48	
Tibeto-Chinese	-	184	
Dravidian	-	72	
Indo-European	-	752	
Minor languages	-	2	
Total	-	1,000	

their respective importance is shown by the figures of distribution given in the margin. It will be noticed that three-fourths of the people speak Indo-European languages and that the Dravidian family is of the least importance.

The *Austroasiatic* family accounts for 48 per mille of the population: of its two branches Khasi, which is the sole representative of the Mon-Khmer sub-family is confined to Khasi and Jaintia Hills and the Manda languages, Santhali, Mundari, Bhumij and Kharwa, are spoken by immigrants in the tea gardens or in the *ar-coolies* settlements, which are a prominent feature of the upper Brahmaputra Valley.

The proportion per mille of the *Tibeto-Chinese* family is 184 as the Tai group of the Shamo-Chinse sub-family is insignificant the table shows only the distribution of the *Tibeto-Burman* sub-family of which the most important branch is the *Assam-Burmese*. In this are included the *Bodo* group represented by 68 persons per mille the *Naga* group and the *Kuki-Chin* group excellent maps showing the distribution of the two latter will be found in the Linguistic Survey Volume III Parts II and III, respectively but it should be remembered that *Sikir* which is shown in the map as belonging to the *Naga* group, is now placed outside it as explained above. Briefly the *Naga* group extends over the *Naga* Hills and part of the hills of Manipur and North Cachar. The *Kuki-Chin* group includes the *Melthei* of the valley of Manipur the dialects of *Luhai* Hills and the *Kuki* languages in the hills of Manipur and North Cachar. The distribution of the *Bodo* group is considered in more detail below.

The languages of the *Dravidian* family—Oraon, Gond, Telugu and Kandhi—are like those of the *Munda* family the mother tongues of immigrants to tea gardens: only 8 per mille of the population are included under this head.

The most important family of all is the *Indo-European* which includes Bengali and Assamese of the total population 40 per cent. speak the former and 29 per cent. speak the latter. Assamese holds almost the same place as in 1901 but Bengali has fallen off by 2 per cent. on account of the more accurate census of the languages of tea coolies. Hindi and Oriya are spoken by 61 and 9 persons respectively per thousand and Nepali by 7. Bengali is the vernacular of the Surma Valley and the west of Goalpara in the Brahmaputra Valley to the rest of which Assamese is the language of every district. Oriya is confined to tea coolies; Hindi is shared by this class with other immigrants who are unindentured. Nepali is spoken mainly by the large number of buffalo graziers who have spread all over the Brahmaputra Valley and have advanced into parts of the hills.

In Subsidiary Table II is given the number per 10,000 who speak the seven main languages. In each district and natural division of these we can dismiss Khasi and Manipuri or Melthei at once as being practically confined to one locality, remarking that Cachar contains quite a large proportion of Manipuri speakers and that there is a small number in "other".

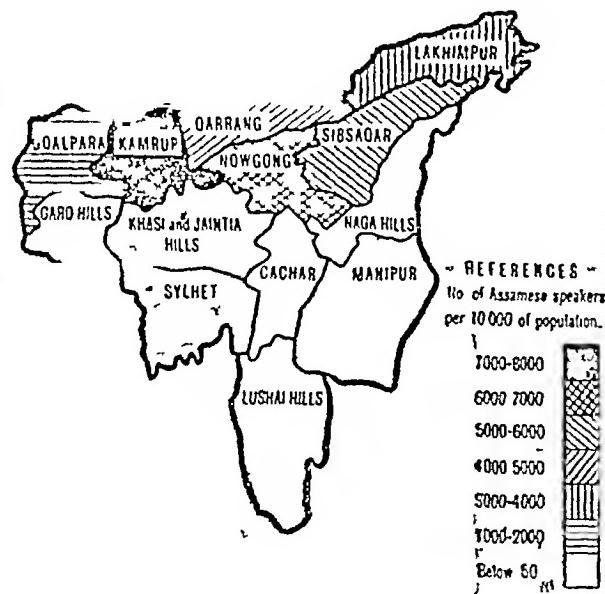
The large preponderance of Bengali in Sylhet is noticeable, in Cachar and Goalpara also it claims more than half the inhabitants and over one-tenth in Gaio Hills, Darrang, Sibsagar, and Lakhimpur in the three latter it owes its proportion to the number of tea coolies who are returning as speaking Bengali, and in Gaio Hills the plains mauzas contain large numbers of settlers from Mymensingh In the Brahmaputra Valley the proportion of Bengali speakers has decreased from 2,289 at the last census to 2,080 now and the decline is apparent in every district except Kamrup where there are 126 Bengali speakers against 115 in 1901 The causes of this fall are the increase in the return of Assamese in Goalpara, which has been



referred to above, and more accurate enumeration of the languages of coolies For example, in Lakhimpur both Bengali and Assamese show decreases of 519 and 555 respectively per 10,000, while Hindi has increased by 452, the difference being spread over Munda and Dravidian languages similar changes are observable in Sibsagar and Darrang The increase in Kamrup is not improbably due to the presence of coolies on railway construction

Assamese has suffered not only by the more accurate census of coolie languages but also by the increase in the number of immigrants

ASSAM—DISTRIBUTION OF ASSAMESE LANGUAGE



they account for well over half the population

The principal members of the Bodo group are Kachari or Mechi and Garo. The latter is practically confined to Gaio Hills, though it overflows into the neighbouring districts, Goalpara, Kamrup and Khasi Hills the proportion of Garo speakers has increased from 7,734 to 7,824 in their own district since 1901 Mechi or plains Kachari is confined mainly to the western end of the Brahmaputra Valley, Goalpara, Kamiup and Darrang being the only three districts in which it is spoken by over

In the Brahmaputra Valley there are now 4,915 speakers of this language against 5,135 in 1901 Goalpara is the only district which shows an increase and it is no less than 1,175 per ten thousand If we add the proportion of those speaking Garo and Khasi to the number shown as speaking "other" languages, so as to compare like with like, we find that "other" languages are now responsible for 1,587 in the Brahmaputra Valley against 1,231 in 1901 The largest proportion of Assamese speakers is found in Kamrup and Nowrangpur, which are practically not tea districts, and in Sibsagar, in spite of the large number of gardens,

one-tenth of the population. Its proportion per 10,000 of the population has dropped in the Brahmaputra Valley from 828 to 608 within the last ten years, but this is in part due to the proportionate increase of foreign languages. The submontane country extending from Jalpaiguri to the Bhorell in Darrang is the home of the plains Bodos; they are mostly bilingual and, as explained above it is not always possible to ensure that they will return the language spoken in their homes; the decrease of population in the north of Mangaldoi subdivision would also reduce their numbers.

It was laid down by Sir G. Grierson in Volume III Part II, of the Linguistic Survey (page 93) that the so-called Koch language which is spoken in Garo Hills and Goalpara in Assam and in the Madhupur jungle on the borders of Dacca and Mymensingh in Bengal, is a mongrel of Garo and Bengali or Assamese; he agrees with the theory that these Koches are not real Koches at all, but probably Garos in an imperfect stage of conversion to Hinduism. Mr Gait does not accept this view and holds that they are a remnant of the Koch tribe; he points out that the similarity of their language to Garo is no proof that they are Garos, because there is no doubt of their being closely connected with the latter. Those who are interested in the subject are referred to paragraph 530 of the Bengal Census Report of 1901 and to pages 20 following of Major Playfair's Monograph on the Garos. It will be noticed that Koch is shown as a separate language in our Tables.

103. In discussing the question of dialects it is safer to confine ourselves to the

Dialects

plains, because it is often hard to say what is a dialect

and what is a language and in the hills there is little or

no criterion for decision. Regarding the old controversy as to whether or not Assamese was a dialect of Bengali, Sir G. Grierson's opinion is that Assamese should be considered a separate language, because its possession of a separate written literature entitles it to claim an independent existence as the speech of a distinct nationality and to have a standard of its own other than what Calcutta literateurs would wish to impose on it. We are without this criterion for hill languages, which are reduced to writing only where Roman characters are used for phonetic reproduction.

In the Surma Valley according to Sir G. Grierson there are two dialects in the west and south of Sylhet we have ordinary Eastern Bengali as spoken in Dibrugarh and Dacca—the second dialect, which is spoken in the north and north-east of Sylhet and in Cachar is wrongly styled Sylhetia by Europeans; the people themselves call it Jaintiapuri, Parba Sifhatiya or Ujania, and the curious will find it described on page 221 following of Volume V Part I of the Linguistic Survey. A peculiar point in connection with it is that in the east of Sylhet low class Muhammadans use the Nagri alphabet to sign their names and to print Bengali *patisis*. In Goalpara, the only other district in Assam in which Bengali is generally spoken, the dialect is the Rajbansi or Raangpuri of northern Bengal and is predominant in the west of the district. Sir G. Grierson divides Assamese into two main groups, the standard, which has its centre in Sibazar and is spoken in the upper districts of the Brahmaputra Valley and the Dhekuri or western, i.e. the dialect spoken in Kamrup and eastern Goalpara; the incorrectness of the return of this dialect as Bengali at previous censuses has been referred to above.

There is no necessity to bivre recourse to a *lingua franca* within the two main languages in the Surma Valley a man from Habiganj would find no difficulty in Hailakandi and in the Brahmaputra Valley a Karpeta would feel at home in Dibrugarh, but there is little doubt that an ordinary Assamese speaker would find it rather difficult to converse in the Surma Valley and so would a Sylheti in Silbagar. The existence of coolie *patisis* in the ten districts has been noted above; these may be called dialects in formation, but they now vary so much that it takes a new manager some little time to become accustomed to what is known as the garden bat; practically speaking each garden is a law unto itself and when the coolies eventually leave to settle down outside, their language may again be modified by the vocabulary of their neighbours.

It has been suggested that dialect is partly a question of sex. Enquiries made on this point tend to show that in Assam dialect is influenced by sex in that women are more conservative in their use of words than men, partly because they are less educated and partly because they do not outdo their houses so much. Dialects must eventually disappear to a great extent with the spread of education and it is reported that such a tendency is visible even now. But that local influence is still strong is proved by the fact that in the Garo Valley it is not uncommon to find such spelling as *chur* for *char* in Bengali newspaper. School books are supposed to be written in standard Assamese and Bengali; reports show that as yet the literature is not always readily intelligible to young school-children in either valley.

104 There is no doubt that Aryan languages alone are now spoken by people who are Mongolians or Dravidians by race. The disappearance of the early tribal dialects is explained as being due partly to the fact that Aryan languages belong to a superior civilisation and partly to the influence of Hinduism. That tribal dialects still survive is accounted for by the absence of outside intercourse, which follows from the inaccessibility of the tract inhabited by the tribe, or by the reduction of the language to writing, usually with the aid of Missionaries, or by the resistance of the tribe to the glamour of Hinduism. We have many examples of these different influences in Assam. The hill tribes were and are still to a great extent isolated, hence they retain their own languages. The development of the Khisi language by the Welsh Mission is too well known to require more than a reference, amongst the Gaios, Nagas and Lushais text-books in the local dialects are now taught in the schools. In the plains the existence of a large proportion of Animists amongst the Bodo clans and the various Munda and Dravidian tribes, which are attracted to the province by the tea industry, accounts for the fact that their mother tongues have not disappeared. It may be generally accepted that conversion to Hinduism eventually leads to the abandonment of the tribal language as well as of the other relics of unclean customs; an exception to this rule is where the apostles of Hinduism are few and the converts many, as, for example, in Manipur, where the Meitei language is written in a script based on Nagri which was introduced by the priests for the purpose of disseminating Hindu religious literature.

Subsidiary Table III compares the strength of each tribe with the number speaking the tribal language, and shows that in almost every case the latter has not been returned as their mother tongue by a considerable number. In the Kuki-Chin group we have apparently the reverse, but this is explained by the facts that it is possible to show as Manipuris only those who returned their caste as Kshatriya, and that the speakers of the dialects grouped as Kuki-unclassed belong to many different tribes. We may leave out of consideration those tribes which are foreign to the province, because their cases will be more appropriately dealt with in their provincial reports, and also the hill tribes generally, because it is not easy to ensue great accuracy in the return of their dialects and we know that so far there is no great reason to apprehend the disappearance of such languages. This reduces our point of view to the Bodo groups, who are mostly confined to the plains. We have seen in Subsidiary Table I that plains Kachari is now returned by 43,000 more than in 1901, but for our present purpose we must add Dimasa, the speakers of which are Kacharis by tribe, and we thus get 278,000 speakers against 323,000 tribesmen, i.e., 86 percent of the latter have returned their own language in 1901 the percentage was 75 and in 1891, 85. One would be inclined to infer that here we have a real growth of a non-Aryan language, but I am afraid that we must allow for the fact that practically all Kacharis, except perhaps the children and some of the women, are bilingual, and it is not improbable that the increase is due to the greater accuracy in the return of languages at the present census. In the case of Lalung there is a decrease since 1901 in the number of speakers of over 34 per cent along with an increase in the number of the tribe of over 10 per cent this language is apparently dying out. Chutia shows an increase from 2,364 to 3,107 since the last census, but is practically defunct, though it continues to retain a small spark of life. As in 1901, there are more speakers of Garo than there are Garos, in spite of the inclusion of Christian Gaios in the figures of the latter, this is a hill language and shows great vitality, owing partly to the isolation of the people and partly, no doubt, to the efforts of the Baptist Mission. The speakers of Rabha are now over 39 per cent of the strength of the tribe against 30 per cent in 1901 and 07 per cent in 1891 here again I do not think that we can attribute the increase to anything but greater accuracy. The inferences then to be drawn from our statistics are somewhat inconclusive there is little doubt that we have now the advantage of a higher accuracy than at previous censuses, but there is too much uncertainty to draw dogmatic conclusions. I think, however, that we may safely claim from the statistics that on the whole the indigenous tribal languages of Assam are still in a vigorous condition the fact that this is true in the hills is not unnatural, as explained above, but that plains Kachari is as yet able to withstand the influence of Assamese is a wonderful proof of the clannishness of its speakers, we must however allow for the fact that their habitat is not looked on with favour by their Hindu neighbours and that they are on this account not so subject to outside influences.

105 For evidences of the literary activity of each language we have Subsidiary Tables IX and X to the last chapter. In the matter of periodicals, Khasi is an easy first in number and

Literary activity circulation, though they are all monthlies, and Assamese is a very bad second with 1 weekly and 3 monthlies, which have a total circulation of only 2,700 copies. The number of English periodicals is equal to that of Assamese, but their circulation is considerably less than half. The Bengali-reading public evidently depend more on Calcutta for their newspapers. The publication of 2 monthlies in Luahai is a wonderful example of the progress made by the people in the matter of education. Assamese easily heads the list in books, which have increased by over 45 per cent. in the last decade and represent over 55 per cent. of the total output of the province : this is no doubt due in part to the fact that Bengali books are easily procured from Calcutta the same fact accounts also for the decline in Bengali books published in Assam. The literary capabilities of the Khasis is reflected in the number of Khasi publications. Other languages may be neglected, but it is interesting to note that there were 10 publications in Nagri, which not improbably represents the script adopted by Muhammadans of Sylhet.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I
Distribution of total population by language

Language	Total number of speakers (000's omitted)		Number per millo n of population of Province	Where chiefly spoken.	Language.	Total number of speakers (000's omitted)		Number per millo n of population of Province	Where chiefly spoken
	1911	1901				1911	1901		
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
AUSTROASIATIC FAMILY	338	253	48		Old Kuki sub-group				
MON-KHMER SUB FAMILY	291	178	29	Assam.	Mhar	..	6	1	Assam.
Khasi					Northern Chin sub-group	54	8	8	
MUNDA SUB FAMILY	137	75	19		Thado or Jangphon	27	3	4	Assam
Santali	..	54	30	Bengal Assam and Central Provinces	Sokto	4		1	Burma Assam and
Mundari	..	73	43	Ditto	Ralte	7		1	Assam.
Bhuij	5		1	Ditto	Paito	10		2	Ditto
Kharia	..	5	2	Bengal and Central Provinces.	Central Chin sub-group	72	75	10	
TIBETO CHINESE FAMILY	1,299	1,021	184		Lnshei or Dubon ..	69	72	10	Assam
TIBETO-BURMAN SUB FAMILY					Lakher (Lai)	3	8		Ditto
North Assam Branch					Mikir				
Abor Muri	57	41	8	Assam	Mikir	103	84	15	Assam
Assam Burmese Branch					Unclassed languages				
Bodo Group	435	422	63		Kuki (unspecified)	20	47	8	Assam Bongal. and
Bodo, Mech or Plains Kochi	261	216	37	Assam and Bengal	DRAVIDIAN FAMILY	55	30	8	
Lalung	12	17	2	Assam	DRVIDIA GROUP				
Dimasa	16	20	2	Ditto	Kurukh or Oraon	20	11	8	Bengal.
Garo	154	133	22	Assam and Bengal.	Intermediate languages				
Koch	4	4		Ditto	Gond	10	2	1	Central Provinces, Bihar and Hyderabad
Rabha	28	20	4	Assam	ANDHRA GROUP	25	17	4	
Tipura or Mrung	10	10	1	Bengal and Assam	Telugu or Andhra	21	5	3	Madras, Hyderabad and Mysore
NAGA GROUP					Kandh or Kul	4	12	1	Madras, Central Provinces and Bengal
Naga Bodo sub-group	25	7	3		INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY	5,308	4,712	753	
Empeo or Kachcha Naga	8	7	1	Assam	ARYAN SUB FAMILY				
Kabui	17		2	Ditto	Indian Branch SANSKRITIC SUB-BRANCH EASTERN GROUP	5,249	4,685	743	
Western Naga sub-group	81	41	12		Oriya	61	24	9	Bengal, Madras and Central Provinces
Angami	39	28	5	Assam	Hindi	431	362	61	Bengal and United Provinces.
Kezhamha	5	1	1	Ditto	Bengali	3,225	2,940	456	Bengal and Assam
Rengma	4	6	1	Ditto	Assamese	1,532	1,350	217	Assam
Sema	33	6	5	Ditto	WESTERN GROUP				
Central Naga sub-group	49	45	7		Rajasthani	..	12	7	2 Rajputana, Central India, Central Provinces, Punjab and Bombay
Ao	29	26	4	Assam.	Eastern Pahari or Garhwali	47	20	7	Bengal, Assam and United Provinces
Lhota or Tsontsu	20	17	3	Ditto	OTHERS	60	110	8	
Naga Kuki sub-group	52		7		TOTAL	7,060	6,120	1,000	
Soprema	10	..	1	Assam.					
Tangkhul	27		4	Ditto					
Naga (unspecified)	15		2	Ditto					
KUKI CHIN GROUP									
Meithei sub-group									
Manipuri, Meithoi, Kato or Ponnu	295	256	42	Assam.					

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.
Districts by Languages of the population of each district.

District and Natural Division	Number per 10,000 of population speaking							
	Assam	Bengal	Orissa	Bodo Meithei Kachin	Garo	Misapuri	Khasi	Other Lang. etc.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
ABHAM	-	2,171	4,169	579	379	311	419	321
BRANGHATTRA VALLEY	-	4,918	3,631	529	1,267	1,267	1	2
Gadipara	-	3,621	4,129	377	1,267	1,267	1	2
Kamrup	-	2,077	176	182	1,267	1,267	1	2
Lakong	-	2,077	1,841	571	1,267	1,267	1	2
Kirong	-	2,074	419	513	21	1,267	1	2
Siangpur	-	2,072	3,623	67	1,267	1,267	1	2
Lakhamoyar	-	2,078	1,625	1,971	1,267	1,267	1	2
SEMAK VILLAGE	-	2,078	4,623	721	1,267	1,267	1	2
Cester (including North Cester)	29	1,735	3,054	169	1	1	12	12
Other	-	4	6,733	482	1	2	12	12
HILLS	-	21	273	125	125	216	12	12
Garo Hills	-	21	1,269	125	125	12	12	12
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	-	21	115	125	125	12	12	12
Shillong Hills	-	21	6	125	125	12	12	12
Meithei	-	21	11	125	125	12	12	12
Leper Hills	-	21	61	125	125	12	12	12

Note.—Separate figures for North Cester are not available.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.
Comparison of Castes and Languages Tables

Title	Strength of tribe (Table XIII.)	Number speaking tribal languages (Table XI.)	Remarks	Title	Strength of tribe (Table XIII.)	Number speaking tribal languages (Table XI.)	Remarks				
								1	2	3	4
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8				
NON-KHONKE SUB-FAMILY	204,689	204,689		Khasi-Ch. Garo-Ch.	121,571	121,571					
Khasi	144,808	144,808	Including Cheraw and Khasi languages spoken by Khasi tribe	17,308	Khasi-Ch. Khasi-Khasi	121,571	121,571				
System	-	21,812	21,812	Including Cheraw language	10,274	02 Khasi sub-group	12,349	12,349			
Language	-	1,491	1,491			Ari-Ch.	2,155	2,155			
Other	6,413	6,413				Chira-Ch.	1,025	1,025			
MUNDIA SUB-FAMILY	22,724	22,724		Khasi	-	6,11	6,11				
Womi	-	11,661	11,661	Khasi { Khasi Khasi }	-	4,72	4,72				
Womi	-	12,023	12,023	Khasi { Lekha }	-	12,023	12,023				
Khosa and Khasi	3,292	3,292	Including Cheraw dialect	4,648	Paro	-	192	1,028			
Wombar	2,076	2,076		Malay	-	2,076	2,076				
Wombar	-	2,074	2,074	Tuolai	-	2,076	2,076				
Teti	1,078,903	1,078,903		No non-Chinese people	61,938	61,938					
TIKHO-THOMAY SUB-FAMILY	2,469	2,469									
T. H. (continued)											
Boroch	-	2,468	2,468								
Alon-Miri	-	2,468	2,468								
Assam-Burman	147,314	147,314									
Brahui	-	147,314	147,314								
Bo-Groo	-	60,411	60,410	Including Cheraw dialect	197	Paro { Khasi Lekha }	7,397	7,397			
Khasi	201,960	201,960				Paro { Lekha }	3,020	12,349			
Bo-	-	94,000	94,000			Paro { Lekha }	-				
Leper	-	21,479	21,479			Paro { Lekha }	-				
Leper	-	21,479	21,479			Paro { Lekha }	-				
Chitt	-	21,479	21,479			Paro { Lekha }	-				
Garo	-	114,204	114,204			Paro { Lekha }	-				
P. H.	-	71	71			Paro { Lekha }	-				
Tibet	-	71	71			Paro { Lekha }	-				
Siang	Xia	217,217	217,217	Incl. Lang. 2,000 Cheraw-Khasi	2,000	Paro { Lekha }	14,553	12,349			
Khasi-Dal	-	217,217	217,217			Paro { Lekha }	-				
Western Khasi	-	217,217	217,217			Paro { Lekha }	-				
Central Khasi	-	217,217	217,217			Paro { Lekha }	-				
Khasi-Loktak	-	217,217	217,217			Paro { Lekha }	-				
Khasi	-	217,217	217,217			Paro { Lekha }	-				
Bo-	-	217,217	217,217			Paro { Lekha }	-				
Leper	-	217,217	217,217			Paro { Lekha }	-				
Tuolai	-	217,217	217,217			Paro { Lekha }	-				
DRAVIDIAN FAMILY											
Khasi-Ch.	-	12,349	12,349			Khasi-Ch.	12,349	12,349			
Garo-Ch.	-	12,349	12,349			Garo-Ch.	12,349	12,349			
Khasi-Khasi	-	12,349	12,349			Khasi-Khasi	12,349	12,349			

Note.—The entries in column 1 have been arranged in accordance with the language classificatory scheme.

CHAPTER X.

INFIRMITIES.

106 It is especially necessary in the case of statistics relating to infirmities to de-

Accuracy of the statistics scribe their scope and to estimate the degree of accuracy which they have attained As at previous censuses, enquiries were restricted to insanity, deaf-mutism, blindness, and leprosy The instructions were —

" If any person be blind of both eyes, or deaf and dumb *from birth*, or insane, or suffering from corrosive leprosy, enter the name of the infirmity do not enter those blind of one eye only or those who have become deaf and dumb *after birth* or who are suffering from white leprosy only "

There was no difference between these instructions and those of 1901, but in that year it was feared that at first the enumerators omitted cases of insanity, blindness and leprosy which were subsequent to birth this difficulty is reported to have been absent at this census In 1901 all entries of *kana* were excluded, because strictly speaking the term is applied to one-eyed people only, but it is loosely applied to cases of total blindness in the west of the Brahmaputra Valley and it was considered probable that some of the exclusions were cases of real blindness this time there were very few returns of *kana* and they were usually distinguished by the intimation that there was a defect in one eye only As before, persons returned as dumb were assumed to be deaf as well, but those returned as deaf only were excluded The returns of insanity almost certainly include weak-minded persons, who were not actually insane Efforts were made to prevent the exaggeration of leprosy statistics by the inclusion of leucoderma, but it is impossible to guarantee its exclusion, or that of Naga sores and syphilis

Besides the above unintentional errors there are cases of deliberate concealment Leprosy, especially in a woman of respectable family, is almost certain to be kept secret Among the better classes insanity and deaf-mutism are not willingly acknowledged Among all classes the infirmities of children are likely to be omitted because parents will not accept them as facts as long as there is any hope of their being due to retarded development

Lastly we must consider the manner in which the statistics have been compiled As between 1901 and 1911 there was no difference of method, separate slips for infirmities being written up by a special staff under careful supervision It is probable that the experience of the last census tended to make the work of compilation more accurate now

On the whole the statistics of the present census may be assumed to show a slight increase of accuracy under all infirmities as enumerated and under the head of blindness as compiled But it cannot be claimed that they are exact such statistics in any country must be vitiated by the errors of a diagnosis made by amateurs, and it would be expecting too much of our enumerators to insist that their returns are reliable in as much as 90 per cent of the cases

The number of afflicted persons at the last four enumerations is shown in the margin the total for 1911 includes 112

persons afflicted with more than one infirmity The statistics of 1881 may be neglected, partly because infirmities were not enumerated in three hill tracts, but more especially because the whole enumeration was not accurate nor could the method of tabulation be relied upon.

Between 1891 and 1901 there was a considerable decline in the total number of infirm persons in India as a whole this was due partly to greater accuracy in statistics and partly to the severe loss caused by famine amongst weakly persons. Similarly in Assam to the general unhealthiness of the previous decade was attributed the fall in the figures as compared with 1891 The acceptance of this theory implies that with the return of normal conditions we should expect an increase in 1911, and the statistics readily answer to this test except in the case of leprosy, where there has been a progressive decline within the last twenty years That the main features of the present statistics for Assam may be accepted is indicated by the fact that before the recent changes in provincial boundaries the general tendency of the variations in Eastern Bengal and Assam and Bengal was similar to that now given for Assam alone It would appear that there must be periodic variations in the number

Period	Insane	Deaf mute	Blind	Lepers	Total
1911	3,116	5,399	6,408	4,372	19,183
1901	2,510	4,575	5,759	5,088	17,932
1891	3,022	4,681	5,832	6,727	20,282
1881	1,518	2,678	3,210	3,313	10,619

of persons afflicted, apart from any question of the accuracy of enumeration no doubt the continued improvement in the material condition of the people and better sanitation help to produce a decrease in the proportion of infirm persons in spite of large increases in population, but the conditions prevalent in the intercensal period must also have an important effect on the number of survivors at the end of it and can not be neglected.

Before entering into a consideration of each infirmity it should be pointed out that of the Subsidiary Tables attached to this chapter Tables I and II compare the statistics of either sex at the last four censuses, Table I giving the number afflicted per 100 000 of the population by districts, and Table II the age distribution of 10 000 afflicted of each sex by quinquennial periods. Table III shows the proportion afflicted by sex in 1911 per 100 000 persons at quinquennial age periods and the number of females afflicted per 1,000 males, and Table IV gives similar statistics for selected castes instead of age periods.

INSANITY

107 The number of the insane has increased since the last census, but their proportion to the total population in either sex is less than it was
variations.

Twenty years ago there are now 51 males and 37 females insane per 100 000 of the people against 63 and 48 in 1891, though at the last census the numbers had dropped as low as 47 and 36 respectively. The trend of this variation holds good for the plains as a whole in the Hills the proportion of insane in 1901 was less than in 1891 and is still less now but I should not care to vouch for the figures because it is more difficult to guarantee accuracy in this natural division than in the two others. In the plains the only districts which do not follow the general tendency are Goalpara and Sibangar where there is a continual decrease since 1891. Every part of the Hills shows a steady decline except Lushai Hills where there is a slight increase since 1901 and North Cachar where the proportion of female insane has risen within the last ten years.

The age statistics should throw some light on the question as to how far the figures of the present census may be accepted a decrease in the number of insane returned at the age period 0—10 would point to the return of a smaller number of the congenitally weak minded. Subsidiary Table II shows that the proportions of children under 10 returned as insane are 4.7 males and 518 females against 514 males and 823 females at the last census we may infer from this decline that our present figures exclude cretinism to a greater extent than those of 1901 and consequently more closely represent the number of lunatics properly so called the diagram given in paragraph 103 confirms this inference.

108 The proportion of insane is higher in the Hills than elsewhere owing to the extraordinary number so returned in Lushai Hill which distribution by locality and caste again stands out as the worst district in the province. It is not easy to determine the cause of this pre-eminence which also appeared at the last census. It appears from the last India Census Report

ASSAM—INSANITY



that insanity was then specially prevalent in the Chin Hills of Burma and the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bengal, both of which border on the Lushai Hills and contain hill tribes. The statistics of Darrang are vitiated by the inclusion of the inmates of the lunatic asylum at Tengnaf : excluding inmates of this institution born outside the district, the proportions are 23 for males and 11 for females, which is low. The next district is Goalpara, which holds the same position as at previous censuses. It may now be accepted as a fact that the reason of this is that the Koch tribe which has fair health greater part of the inhabitants of the district is more than ordinarily subject

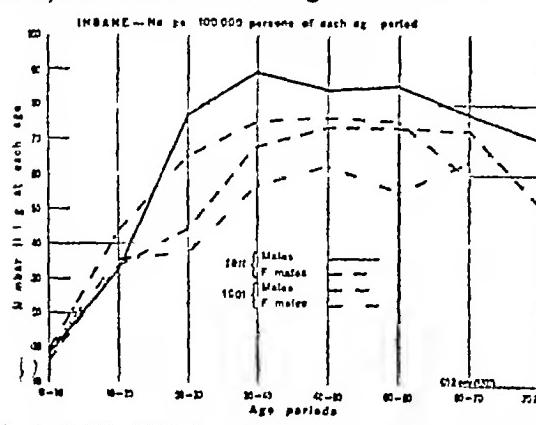
to insanity paragraph 457 of the Bengal Census Report of 1901 has proved this theory. There is nothing very special in the statistics of the remaining districts, but we may note that the comparatively low proportion of insane in the tea districts of the Brahmaputri Valley must be attributed in part to the large number of imported coolies, because weaklings are not encouraged, when the cost of recruitment is so high.

The causes of insanity are so many, and so little can be discovered of the previous history of cases admitted to the one lunatic asylum of the province, that it is hardly worth raising the question. It would appear from the reports of the Medical Department that in the majority of the cases in which patients' antecedents are reported the predisposing cause is over-indulgence in ganja, but, as was pointed out in 1901, though this may be true in individual cases, it is impossible to predicate it for large numbers and the statistics of excise revenue do not lend themselves to a confirmation of the theory that the distribution of insanity is affected by the incidence of expenditure on ganja.

The statistics of caste given in Subsidiary Table IV show very great variations. The figures for Lushais and Rajbansis reflect the extent of insanity in Lushai Hills and Goalpara. Why the Kacharis should be so sane and their kinsmen the Meches in Goalpara so mad, I am afraid that I cannot explain. The Baidya caste is pre-eminent in having apparently no insane, if true, it may be due to their careful up-bringing and the absence of worry or want amongst them. Of course the figures may not represent facts, and I am rather inclined to this belief by the figures for Kayasthas.

109 In the two valleys the male insane exceed the female everywhere except in Cachar Plains. It is natural that there should be an excess of males, especially in India, where the women generally lead retired lives and hence avoid the hardships and anxieties as well as the excesses of the other sex. On the other hand in the Hills the women are more exposed to the wear and tear of life and the figures of either sex should be more on an equality. But I am at a loss to explain why the female insane should now be more numerous in every hill district except the Naga Hills, where their proportion is the same as that of the males. It cannot be due entirely to the actual excess of the women in the Hills, nor can it be attributed, as in 1901, to matriarchy of the Khasis and Garos, for it extends to other districts where there is no matriarchy. I should be inclined to attribute the result in Cachar Plains and in the Hills, at least to certain extent, to want of accuracy in enumeration, as it is very difficult to ensure anything approaching exact diagnosis among primitive people, but this difficulty existed on former occasions as well. Perhaps the figures of the next census may throw some light on the mystery.

The proportion of insane females in the province according to Subsidiary Table III is less than that of the males at every age. There is a steady rise in females up to the age period 10-20, when they are not very much short of the number of males, but their proportion declines again up to 30, rises between 30-35, drops again between 35 and 40, and then slowly rises without, however, ever approaching the high figure reached between 10 and 20. Taking all ages together there are only 693 insane females to 1,000 males. Amongst the latter the number afflicted increases rapidly up to



30-35, when it reaches its maximum, and then declines slightly to the end, except for a small rise at the age period 50-55. Women are apparently increasingly liable to insanity up to 45-50, after which the proportion falls a little. Subsidiary Table II gives the age distribution of 10,000 insane, and shows that at the last two censuses the highest number of males was in the age period 30-35, which agrees with the figures of Subsidiary Table III for women. It would appear that the number of insane aged 30-35 is greater than at any other period, but Table III shows that this is really not the most dangerous period.

DEAF MUTISM

110 There has been a steady increase in the number of deaf-mutes within the last thirty years, though their proportion to the total population has fallen in comparison with 1891. Within the last

Variations

ten years the ratio of males afflicted has remained unchanged, but there is a rise in the proportion of females, and it is not improbable that the variation, apart from the growth of population, is a sign of greater accuracy. The extraordinary decrease in Lushai Hills is attributed by the Superintendent to the inclusion of persons deaf only and not dumb in 1901. True deaf mutism is a congenital defect and the afflicted are short lived. A reference to the diagram below illustrating the age distribution will show that, allowing for the usual incomplete returns of children, our present figures follow the natural course and that, in comparison with those of 1901, they are more correct in the later years of life. The very large increase in the number of males afflicted over 50 in 1901 is almost certainly due to the inclusion of old men grown hard of hearing only while the female statistics point to the same faulty diagnosis, though not to the same extent. Subsidiary Table III, which gives the ages in quinquennial periods, also shows that the greatest proportion of deaf mutes is found between 10 and 15 for both sexes. It would appear then that the increase shown by the figures for both sexes taken together is partly due to greater care at the time of enumeration and is partly real; the latter part may be attributed to the growth of population and the absence of hardships in the last intercensal period.

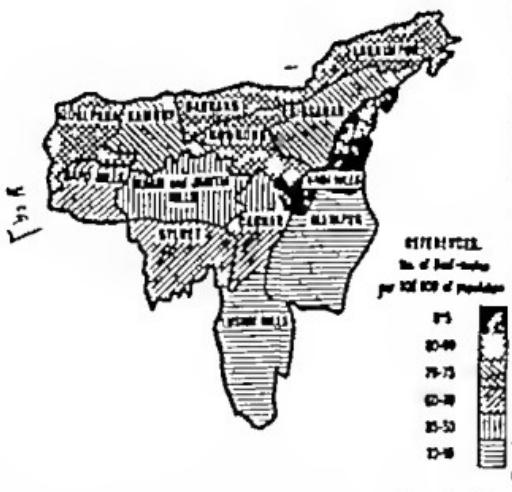
III. Deaf mutes are again found in greatest numbers in the Hills, but mainly on

Distribution by locality and
sexa.

account of the extraordinarily high figures for Nagaland where the proportion for both sexes taken together is more than 6½ times the provincial ratio. The explanation given

by the Deputy Commissioner in 1901 still apparently holds good and we must attri-

ASSAM—DEAF MUTISM.



bute the prevalence of the infirmity to the results of close intermarriages within the villages. In the next worst districts, Goalpara and Lakhimpur the proportion afflicted is only one-sixth of that in Nagaland. The Surma Valley seems to be generally more free from the infirmity than the Brahmaputra Valley and if we exclude the Nagas, the hill districts appear to be very little affected, but perhaps their statistics are less accurate than those of the plains.

The caste statistics place the Nagas at the top; among them it would appear that the worst afflicted clan is the Lengma, which is followed in order by the Ibotas, Semas, Angamis and Aos among the last of whom 347 men and 300

women per 100,000 are deaf and dumb. The indigenous castes of the Brahmaputra Valley have higher proportions than normal, e.g. the Ahoms, Chutias, Hallitas, Koches, Bodos, Naidys and Kacharis. The Naidys are here remarkable for the absence of females afflicted and again in view of the stall fire for Kasa that I am afraid that the returns are incorrect; most probably we have in the case of this caste an example of deliberate suppression of nasty facts which holds good for all the infirmities, for there is not a single female Naidya afflicted with any of the four physical calamities prescribed for enumeration.

112. Here again males usually outnumber the females in every country and our

Distribution by sex and age. Figures are no exception to the rule which holds good for each natural division. It is not improbable that a pointed cut just now female cases are concealed to a certain extent among the higher

castes, but this would not vitiate our statistics to any great extent I have already

pointed to the high proportion at the early ages parents will not usually acknowledge the permanency of defects in their children until there is no room for doubt, and the figures between infancy and ten years are undoubtedly incorrect Subsidiary Tables II and III agree in pointing to the age period 10—15 as containing the greatest number and the greatest proportion of the deaf and dumb This holds good for this census and the last that of 1891 apparently makes the years from 5 to 10 the worst, but this is possibly due to inaccuracy That the statistics of 1901 were vitiated by the inclusion of old people afflicted with senile deafness is clear from the figures for people 60 and over the number of

deaf-mutes per 10,000 at that age being 553 males and 482 females against 254 males and 321 females now

BLINDNESS

113 The total number of the blind has grown by apparently 100 per cent since 1881, but, as that census is more or less negligible from our present point of view, it should be excluded, we find

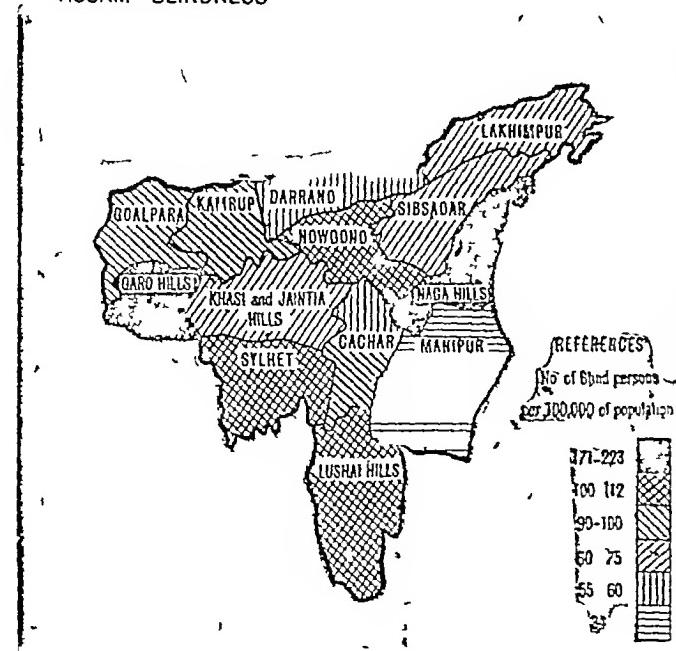
Variations

an increase of over 10 per cent in comparison with 1891 and over 11 per cent since 1901 In spite of these increases the proportion of the blind shows a steady decline in both sexes since 1891. As is now well known, blindness is an unimportant infirmity in Assam. The absence of glare, dust, poverty and overcrowding in ill-ventilated houses all contribute to this happy result The proportional decrease is not shared by the Surma Valley, where there is a slight rise in the number of males, while the female proportion remains unchanged since 1901

114 The Brahmaputra Valley shows the smallest number of people who cannot

Distribution by locality and caste see this is no doubt mainly due to the vision soundness of the immigrant population, the figures for the three large tea districts, Darrang, Sibsagar and Lakhimpur, being particularly low, while those for Goalpara, Kamrup, and Nowgong are above or

ASSAM—BLINDNESS



equal to the provincial average for both sexes In the Surma Valley the males of Sylhet are more afflicted than those of Cachar, probably on account of the greater prevalence of glare and dust, the statistics for females seem to point to a suppression of facts in Sylhet In the Hills blindness is more common than elsewhere and this was also the case in 1901 The high proportion amongst the Garos, Nagas, and Lushais would seem to be due to the absence of general cleanliness and ventilation

The caste statistics agree generally with those of locality Amongst the Baidyas there is a large number of blind males, which may be

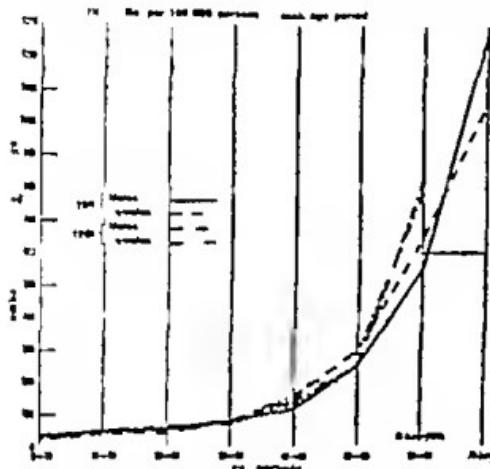
attributed to their bookish occupations, but there are no females. That the proportion amongst Mikos is high may be due to the absence of ventilation and sanitation, for they live in a manner similar to the hill tribes.

116 The male blind exceed the female as they have done at every previous

Distribution by sex and age

census part of the excess is no doubt due to concealment.

The excess of males holds good for each natural division but not for every district in Darrang, Nowrang, Lakhimpur, Cachar plains, Garo Hills, North Cachar and Naga Hills; the reverse is the case. Subsidiary Table III



shows that the ratio of blindness amongst males is higher than that amongst females up to the age 40 and lower between 40 and 60 and again slightly higher after 60. The figures in Subsidiary Table II give an excess of males up to 2 almost an equality between the sexes from 20 to 30, an excess of males from 30 to 40 an excess of females between 40 and 45, an excess of males between 45 and 50 and an excess of females from 50 upwards. The general result is that women apparently keep their sight better than men up to about 40, but after

that are more afflicted. This is probably to be attributed to greater dimness of vision rather than to actual loss of sight amongst elderly women, who spend a good deal of their time within the house and are exposed to the smoke of the cooking fire. Blindness is not an infirmity which usually attacks young people—it belongs to old age. The diagram brings this fact out very clearly both for this census and the last

LEPROSY

116 Leprosy is an exception to the other infirmities in showing since 1901 a

Variations.

continual decline which is so marked that the proportion of males afflicted has been reduced by over a half and that of females by nearly the same amount.

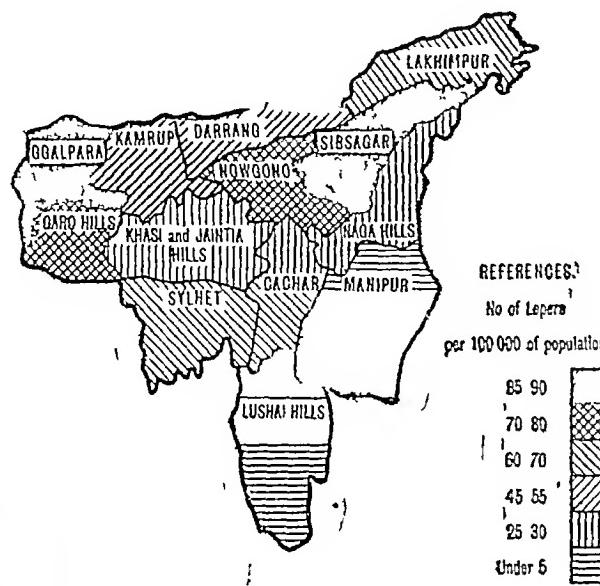
This reduction practically extends over each natural division, but is especially marked in the Hills, where it amounts to nearly two-thirds of the number of males and over two-thirds of the number of females of twenty years ago. In the latter division the decline is in part due to a more accurate diagnosis resultant on the exclusion of leucoderma and Nagasores. It is now an accepted fact that leprosy is not hereditary and only contagious to a small extent. It follows that, with improved sanitary conditions, the disease should die out, and this apparently is what is happening here and elsewhere. The proportion of 1 per cent to the total population is however still very high in Assam. Low far this is due to faults in diagnosis, it is hard to say but there is little doubt that it is in excess of the fact. If my inferences from the caste figures are accepted, there is one small 1 per cent among a Sylhet the number of inmates of which was 10 in 1901, 1 in 1910 and 59 in 1911. I do not think that any conclusions can be drawn from these small figures.

117 The Brahmaputra Valley stands first under this infirmity and the Hills last

Distribution by locality and caste

The apparently large number of lepers in Goalpara is a repetition of the statistics of the last census, it is not improbable that now, as then, the result is due to the inclusion of persons affected with syphilitic sores, in spite of the large decline in the

ASSAM—LEPROSY



consequently the pre-eminence of any particular district, even if it is not based on facts, may be apparently maintained

The caste figures show that the Meches of Goalpara contain the greatest number of lepers, and the Mikirs, Muis and Rajbansis are the next worst I have grave doubts of the powers of diagnosis amongst any of these tribes or castes, and I think that the high figures of Goalpara, which must be due to the returns of Meches and Rajbansis, cannot be taken as representing facts The Ahoms come next to the above, while the Patnis and Kacharis are the only remaining communities with over one leper per mille of the males, here also the diagnosis must be extremely doubtful, as all these people are distinctly backward The general result of the caste statistics is to point to the conclusion that the high proportional figures for Assam are due in great measure to the confusion of leprosy with other corrosive or skin diseases At the same time it must be acknowledged that the absence of this disease amongst the Lushais and the very small proportions of the afflicted amongst other hill tribes may be due to too comprehensive exclusions

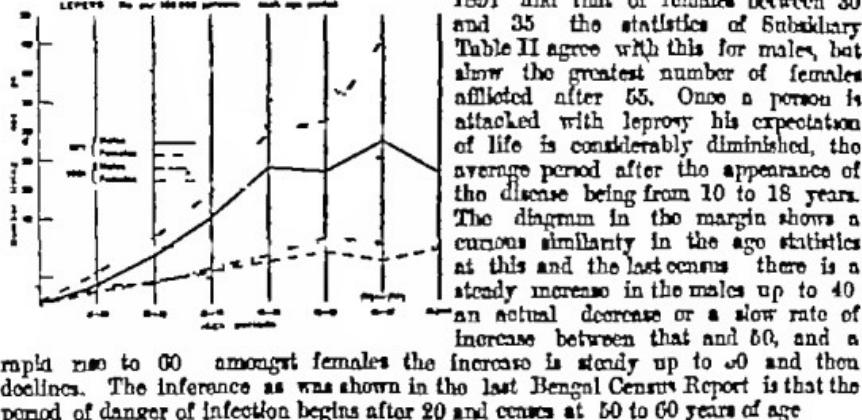
118 Here again the males seem to be more prone to the disease than females, but

Distribution by sex and age

we must perhaps allow for a certain amount of concealment amongst the latter On the other hand it is probable that the infirmity does not exist to any great extent among the higher classes, who alone seclude their women, and that the figures on the whole are not far from the facts. The excess of males appears in every district in the province at the last two censuses and in all the castes shown in Subsidiary Table IV The age statistics in Subsidiary Table III show that the proportion of females to males is greatest between 10 and 15, when the possibility of the concealment of women is greatest, and it is reasonable to infer that the apparently greater liability of men to the disease is true

proportional figures Sibsagar is not very far behind and is followed by Garo Hills and Nowgong The hill districts generally maintain the immunity which they showed at the last census, but it is possible that there have been excessive exclusions The fact is that local peculiarities of diagnosis are likely to repeat themselves it would really require a doctor to eliminate all improper cases, and the enumerators are likely to interpret the same instructions at two successive censuses in the same manner, and

The highest proportion of male lepers has been found between 40 and 45 since 1801 and that of females between 30 and 35 the statistics of Subsidiary Table II agree with this for males, but show the greatest number of females afflicted after 55. Once a person is attacked with leprosy his expectation of life is considerably diminished, the average period after the appearance of the disease being from 10 to 18 years.



The diagram in the margin shows a curious similarity in the age statistics at this and the last census there is a steady increase in the males up to 40 an actual decrease or a slow rate of increase between that and 60, and a rapid rise to 60 amongst females the increase is steady up to 50 and then declines. The inference as was shown in the last Bengal Census Report is that the period of danger of infection begins after 20 and ceases at 50 to 60 years of age

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I

Number afflicted per 100,000 of the population at each of the last four censuses.

District and Natural Division	Insane								Deaf mante								
	Male				Female				Male				Female				
	1911	1901	1891	1881	1911	1901	1891	1881	1911	1901	1891	1881	1911	1901	1891	1881	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
ASSAM	51	47	62	37	37	35	48	25	87	87	95	60	66	63	75	39	
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	54	46	60	37	32	33	44	21	63	63	106	66	70	61	91	46	
Goalpara	..	79	82	109	88	60	82	86	53	93	113	116	85	79	97	60	
Kamrup	49	39	50	23	26	22	43	14	83	50	81	54	63	32	0	40	
Darrang*	..	114	74	81	24	33	37	49	15	83	100	119	55	77	83	109	43
Newgong	30	21	28	14	25	13	27	13	91	130	102	74	71	77	87	50	
Sibsagar	36	30	43	33	22	29	24	9	83	56	93	77	57	45	73	37	
Lakhimpur	19	14	26	25	19	8	28	17	90	94	125	45	82	70	127	32	
SURMA VALLEY	48	45	63	41	34	30	52	32	78	83	77	70	50	50	53	33	
Cachar plains	48	47	54	66	50	44	69	43	75	85	51	91	63	49	43	63	
Sylhet*	49	45	65	37	31	26	49	30	78	82	81	67	47	51	55	31	
HILLS	49	57	61	12	62	51	51	12	110	111	106	36	98	92	103	31	
Garo Hills	37	40	62		40	41	66		66	83	119		66	60	126	..	
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	30	34	60	30	33	38	41	27	53	63	115	87	41	16	88	70	
North Cachar	..	21	49	236		63	45	208		49	62	118		23	67	63	
Naga Hills	35	45	56		35	39	40		527	486	28		502	461	166		
Manipur	13	21			15	12			13	18			8	12			
Lushai Hills	297	292			380	249			19	156			12	189			
Blind.																	
District and Natural Division	Male				Female				Male				Female				
	1911	1901	1891	1881	1911	1901	1891	1881	1911	1901	1891	1881	1911	1901	1891	1881	
	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	
ASSAM	94	97	107	74	87	91	105	57	90	125	182	96	92	89	60	38	
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	81	65	76	73	73	76	74	49	93	129	173	94	41	42	65	41	
Goalpara	100	126	184	95	94	140	147	64	137	219	257	169	39	63	91	59	
Kamrup	-	106	125	72	88	82	80	61	55	78	137	97	72	31	23	26	
Darrang*	54	55	46	77	60	45	46	50	63	77	123	49	32	29	43	21	
Newgong	94	71	67	52	109	75	63	33	104	77	134	51	43	27	51	27	
Sibsagar	67	47	54	47	64	51	55	19	114	123	223	116	52	51	82	53	
Lakhimpur	59	71	66	53	68	55	61	29	73	102	186	91	46	40	82	37	
SURMA VALLEY	103	103	130	78	93	9	117	67	101	146	206	110	23	40	55	37	
Cachar plains	-	80	85	91	81	100	83	86	82	93	114	157	113	50	47	50	
Sylhet*	108	107	177	77	91	93	122	63	103	131	213	170	25	73	73	33	
HILLS	102	116	152	52	100	131	106	46	31	43	91	71	18	21	67	27	
Garo Hills	131	143	313		191	24	49		29	93	127	2	61	23	93	-	
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	89	143	110	122	62	103	113	9	-	53	70	70	21	7	77	60	
North Cachar	-	33	43	215	40	77	12	157	-	83	-	77	32	47	5	8	
Naga Hills	-	203	172	100	-	226	222	15	-	61	-	12	-	10	1-	54	
Manipur	-	69	6		-	21	-		-	1	-		1	10	-	-	
Lushai Hills	125	192	-	-	93	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	

Note 2: Procedure to population of (1) the latent cases in Parishes 1-4 ("the 4 parishes in Section 1") and (2) the latent cases in Parishes 5 and 6 ("the 2 parishes in Section 2") by the ratio of the latent cases in Parishes 1 and 2 and 5 and 6. Existing counts for Parish 1 and 2 figures are 20 and 23 respectively. Existing counts for Parish 5 and 6 are 15 and 15.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

Distribution of the urban by age per 10 000 of each Sex

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III

Number selected per 100 000 persons for each age per state and number of females selected per 1,000.

SUBSIDIARY TABLES

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV

Number afflicted per 100,000 persons of each age period and number of females afflicted per 1,000 males in selected castes

Caste.	Number afflicted per 100,000										Number of females afflicted per 1,000 males			
	Insane		Deaf mute		Blind		Lepers		Insane.	Deaf mute	Blind.	Lepers.		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		
Ahom	66	35	129	90	67	72	170	88	493	652	1,015	486		
Baidya	39	41	77	66	46	82	85	16	1,000	800	1,667	182		
Barui	39	35	73	67	61	46	46	14	299	704	619	250		
Brahman	97	35	99	97	75	65	94	53	310	933	824	535		
Chutia	64	21	99	97	75	65	80	12	143	714	667	149		
Dhoba	40	6	40	31	68	49	80	61	1,078	927	1,163	687		
Garo	36	38	56	53	125	159	91	67	700	500	714	563		
Gocia	42	38	67	44	88	82	67	49	929	506	1,275	365		
Jogi	49	47	89	47	93	123	86	63	703	1,021	1,000	939		
Kachari	31	23	82	87	70	73	112	45	542	896	944	425		
Kalita	62	37	100	97	108	111	69	50	16	409	800	611	273	
Kayastha	99	48	56	53	81	59	59	18	909	825	914	154		
Kewat	23	21	63	71	73	69	81	24	19	2,000	641	703	857	
Khasi	19	35	68	39	113	72	29	10	1,258	870	451	361		
Kshatriya (Manipuri)	25	31	18	16	41	18	71	38	607	745	882	517		
Koch	44	20	83	64	69	63	9	1,111	2,500	588				
Kuki (Total)	26	28	6	14	49	23	9	15	429	750	1,111	250		
Kumhar	49	22	55	44	62	74	55	1759	565	763				
Lushai (Total)	305	606	27	35	65	59	200	51	1,044	1,619	795	175		
Mech	98	55	95	99	81	61	242	113	667	1,000	446			
Mikir	24	23	39	66	136	113	208	95	714	1,813	769			
Miri	34	"	119	68	37	39	37	80	833	971	1,206	571		
Nadiyil	34	30	100	102	46	63	21	12	1,154	950	845	215		
Naga (Total)	27	29	89	349	169	182	88	20	554	697	1,000	182		
Namasudra	73	43	85	64	108	98	57	11	400	590	694	263		
Napit	52	23	78	34	63	68	141	39	1,074	559	870	288		
Patni	47	53	69	42	197	99	172	53	652	584	1,156	289		
Rajbanshi	101	70	106	60	112	104	144	23	303	345	600	1,100		
Sudra	54	17	47	17	72	67	74	18	111	600	647	167		
Subhadhar	103	13	60	39	120	144	72	9	1,000	938	857	200		
Synteng	62	80	61	67	107	89	51	417	600					
Teli or Tili	59	27	49	38	83	60	78							

CHAPTER XI

C A S T E

119 The preparation of Table XIII, which shows castes, has always been a difficult task and particularly so in places like Assam where Accuracy of the return. there are large numbers of foreigners who are censused by local enumerators ignorant of their ways and customs. The experience of each census however makes the succeeding one easier and on this occasion the precaution of preparing a caste index beforehand was taken in time to allow its distribution at least to all Charge Superintendents a special list of castes likely to be found in tea gardens was also made. The result was that there was less trouble than before with regard to the caste entries in the census schedules. It was noted in the last report that little or no difficulty was met with in connection with local castes, and this was also true of the present census. It was hardly possible to provide for all cases in the special index for tea coolies in all doubtful cases references were made to the district officer and in the comparatively few cases where no further enlightenment was obtainable from him, as, for instance in the difficult case of Madras, the entries were classified in the central office in accordance with the general caste index for India. The index prepared for Bengal at the last census was most useful for people from Chota Nagpur and Orissa. The difficulties due to ignorance then were more easily surmounted than in previous censuses.

There are the further difficulties of deliberate misstatements, when individuals intentionally misdescribe themselves as belonging to some higher caste or assume some new name. As far as Assam was concerned, there were not very many instances of this kind. The Shamas of the Surma Valley in common with their fellows in Bengal wished to be entered as Vaisya, and the entry of Vaishya Shaha which was permitted, gave an easy clue to their identity but their further claim to be shown separately from Sunris could not be guaranteed, because the latter were just as anxious to abridge the appellation and it was not easy to prevent their being returned as Shahas. The claim of the Chasi Kalbartas of Bengal to be enumerated as Naihishyas was allowed, because it was a new name not likely to be confused with any other but a great part of the Das community of Sylhet refused the new title. It is regrettable that the orders that their number should be shown separately in the remarks column of Table VIII were neglected in the central office where their slips were sorted. The Rajbansis of Goalpara claim to be Kshatriyas and were allowed to show themselves as such with the addition of their real caste name. The caste hitherto known as Ganak objected to the title and eventually Government decided that they should be called Grahapipras in the Brahmaputra Valley but this order came too late to prevent many of them from entering as before their caste as Brahman. It is probable that more Naiyials returned themselves as Kalbartas than in 1901, as some of them obtained permission to do so from their gozain, but for this reason the name fell into disfavour with the Kewata. The Bittuval Banias and the Namasudras are now shown without the additions of Hari and Chandal, but this makes no real change from the last census. The general tendency to level up which was referred to in paragraph 197 of the last report, was again prevalent, and in the Surma Valley was intensified by the disputes which originated in 1901 from the attempt to draw up a list of castes in order of social precedence. This tendency is natural and will probably happen at every future census, but it was handicapped time by the loss of the caste index. In the Brahmaputra Valley the only real difficulties were those arising from foreign castes.

120 In view of the controversies which arose over the social precedence list of 1901 referred to above it has been decided not to re-open classification for 1911. The question especially as it is in likely that any fresh information would be forthcoming. In 1911 the main basis of classification was that of traditional occupation, and though this is not a very good criterion in a province like Assam, where the caste system has not crystallised as it has in other provinces and where the main occupation is agriculture the list such as it is will be found in Subsidiary Table I of this chapter. The arrangement of castes in Table XIII is alphabetical.

In Subsidiary Table I only castes containing more than 2 per cent. of population are shown separately the smaller castes being grouped under 100 under 1000.

'Others' in each occupational group. The figures in italics below the group totals show the proportion per mille of the total population represented by the group. Forest and hill tribes form the most numerous class, including 269 per mille, and are followed by cultivators, who number 190 per mille of the total population. In the last group, which is headed 'Others' and which contains people returned mainly by race, Sekhs form the great majority and represent the ordinary Muhammadan population, who are overwhelmingly agricultural—they and the castes grouped as cultivators form 441 per mille of the population, and, if we add the forest and hill tribes, we account for 709 persons out of every thousand. The next most numerous group, which contains only 78 per mille, is that of fishermen, boatmen, and palki-bearers, the last-named profession is followed by very few. Then we have weavers, etc., who number 35, and priests and devotees, who are 21 per mille of the population. The group totals rapidly diminish after this, that of domestic service accounting for 17, that of writers for 12, and those of traders and pedlars and labourers for 11 per mille each no other group contains 10 persons in a thousand.

121 The theories of the origin of castes and the development of castes as they exist

The caste system

now were treated in the last census report. Since then

the various European scholars have discussed the question at length, and it is apparent from their observations that the actual conditions of the present day, as opposed to the system described in the law books, are not always clearly grasped. In the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* it is remarked that there is very little definite knowledge concerning the extent of inter-marriage and the effects of an irregular or forbidden marriage, the rules protecting occupations, the causes of the loss of caste and the means of regaining it. In view of the large element of truth in this statement, it has been decided to note the present-day facts with regard to certain points of the caste system concerned with the above problems, on which existing knowledge is insufficient. The points in question are (1) the restrictions, social and industrial, involved by caste, (2) the system of caste government, and (3) the distinction between function, caste, and sub-caste. In the following paragraphs an attempt is made to treat these problems so far as this province is concerned.

122 The comparative laxity of caste rules in the whole of the plains of Assam

(1) Caste restrictions

has been described in the Census Reports of 1891 and 1901

It is here proposed to give some instances of such restrictions as there are. In the Siuma Valley so wide are the limits of matrimony that Baidyas and Kayasthas freely inter-marry and only lose a certain amount of respect in their communities when they marry a son or daughter to a Shaha, though they would be excommunicated if they ate with the latter. In the Brahmaputra Valley Brahmins and Grahabipras are the only castes which are strictly endogamous. Kalitas, Keots and Koches may inter-marry, but lose position within their own castes. Marriages between any of the lower castes implies excommunication for the higher party, who is reduced to the inferior caste. There is practically no restriction regarding occupation except that of fishing for sale, but a Brahman will not plough or carry a *bhar*, i.e., a pole with a load at either end. In the Siuma Valley one correspondent mentions a pious, but poor, Kayastha who used to starve at times rather than bring home his own bazar, but such men are exceedingly rare. In the Siuma Valley there is no restriction about taking water from a public well, but in rural areas in the Brahmaputra Valley there is still a prejudice against it. Brahmins will take water only from Baidyas, Kayasthas, and the Nabasaks, who include Dases in parts of Sylhet and apparently exclude all the lower castes except Kalitas, Kewats and Bar Koches. In the Brahmaputra Valley generally no caste will take water from an inferior caste, but strictness of this rule seems to be relaxing. A vessel containing water touched by a person of inferior caste must be broken if it is earthen, but if of metal it need only be washed. Water in medicine is taken from anyone, even from non-Hindus. Food cooked with ghee by castes from whom water is taken is acceptable, but a Brahman will not take food cooked with water from any but a Brahman, nor a Grahabipria or Acharji from any but one of his own caste or a Brahman—but even on this point there are differences, and in parts of Sylhet a Baidya will eat a dinner cooked by a Das. Mere proximity does not cause pollution in any part of the province, but being touched by a man from whom water cannot be taken does so, though it is only the most orthodox who will bathe after such an occurrence. Domestic fowls and pigs are strictly forbidden, but there is no prohibition against he-goats, drakes, or pigeons. Certain kinds of fish are avoided by the higher castes; these include *sal*, *singi*, *mukha*, *gajar*, *nadoni*, *gai u* and *neria*, but there is no distinction between sealy and scaleless fish. Drinking fermented liquor is said to be *tabu* in the Brahmaputra Valley among all,

decent Hindus, very probably on account of the close proximity of hard-drinking aboriginal or semi-Hindooed tribes, but in the Surma Valley there is now no restriction. Widow marriage is permissible amongst all castes in the Brahmaputra Valley except Brahmans and Grahapipras, but in the Surma Valley is restricted to the Patni, Namasudra, Ma-i, Dhuli, and other low castes. Widow marriage and child marriage seem to be antipathic customs in Assam, as we find in the Brahmaputra Valley that only Brahmans and Grahapipras must marry their daughters before puberty while in the other valley child marriage is very common except amongst the foreign Manipuris. Taking the thread is peculiar to Brahmans and Grahapipras; in the Surma Valley it is unusual amongst Baudyas and Kayasthas. Every Hindu must have a *guru* except the unclean feeders.

It will thus be seen that the Hindus of Assam are much less bound to rule than their co-religionists in Bengal and beyond. As was pointed out by Mr. Gait in 1891 the castes of the Brahmaputra Valley are socio castes and there are no professional castes, and though the latter are found in the Surma Valley the fact that they were down to fairly recent times living in a frontier tract prevented the thorough crystallisation of the caste system amongst them. There is no doubt that in Assam, as elsewhere, contact with European ideas and improvement in communications tends to relax caste restrictions and to lessen the influence of the Brahmans, but it is also true that the example of the higher castes now exercises a greater effect, for example in the matter of child marriage in Sylhet and that more pilgrims visit Kamakhya temple at Gauhati since the railway connected the two valleys.

123. By the system of caste government is meant the manner in which the caste

(1) Caste government. rules and restrictions regarding commarital marriage, occupation, and the like are enforced. It must be understood at the beginning that there are no standing committees amongst Hindu castes in Assam. As the usages of the two valleys are somewhat different it is preferable to treat them separately from each other and from Manipur.

The Hindus of the Brahmaputra Valley are mainly Vaishnavas, and their gosains or religious leaders hold very high positions in the community. A gosain generally lives in a satsim or monastery surrounded by his resident bhakts or disciples, all of whom as well as the gosain himself are celibates in the larger satsim. The non-resident disciples of a gosain are scattered over the valley but to them he is the ultimate authority in religious and social matters. The social unit is the khel, which consists of the disciples of one gosain who worship in one namghar and can eat together. This is the ideal system, and if possible, all members of the khel are of the same caste; there may be two or more khels of the same caste in a large village or the khel may consist of people of two or three villages. If however there are a number of castes of different social status in a village and none of them is large enough to form an independent khel, the village community or mel becomes governing body; this may also occur when, owing to the dearth of competent men the social functions of a caste cannot be decided within the caste. We have then two bodies who enforce social laws and caste rules, (1) the khel and (*) the village mel. Generally Brahmans and the higher castes from which Brahmans can take water have caste khels or mixed khels; the rest have caste khels where they are in sufficient numbers or else are governed by the village mel. There is no rule regulating the number or qualification of the members of either of these bodies but the wiser and most respectable men naturally take a leading part in all deliberations and are allowed to do so by common consent. To superintend all important khels the gosain appoints a local agent called medhi; in the case of Brahman gosains and rajols in the case of Bauls one of his duties is to see that all social rules and laws are duly observed and to report infringements thereof to the gosain when necessary. He is invariably present at meetings of the khel and takes an important part in its deliberations. The control of a caste over its members is complete even when there is no khel because the village mel can excommunicate an offender by obtaining the consent of his gosain. In all cases which involve a pravarohita or purification ceremony Brahma must be consulted and they are generally invited to take a leading part in the deliberations.

It is the aged and pious who raises the question of a breach of social or caste rules by complimenting to the melhi or the gosain or some other leading man in the village the latter either than calls a meeting of the khel or mel or reserves the matter until the people meet in the namghar or attend some social gathering. The complimentant or kachhi at meethonouth and witness on both sides are examined. The decision is in most cases final, but the gosain exercises revisional jurisdiction in

some cases the whole matter is reported to the gosain, whose decision is final. The penalties imposed are prayaschitta, as ordered by the gosain or the Brahmins, or a fine, which may be paid in cash or take the form of a feast to the villagers. If the penalty is not paid, the offender is excommunicated. The following statement shows the nature of the offences and the punishments in such cases —

Offence	Punishment	Remarks
1 Assault or abuse	Fine	The fine is heavier in proportion as the complainant is of a much higher caste than the accused, to enable the former to meet the cost of his own prayaschitta, which is also necessary
2 Assaulting or abusing one's superior relatives, such as parents, elder brothers, uncle, etc	(1) Fine (2) Prayaschitta for both parties	
3 Illicit intercourse, (a) if the parties are Brahmins or Grahapipras (b) For other castes ..	(a) Excommunication of both (b) (1) Fine (2) Prayaschitta of both parties (3) Namkutan (4) Feast to relatives and kinsmen	The punishment is heavier in proportion to the social difference between the castes, if the parties are of different castes
4 Incest	Ditto ditto	
5 Adultery	Ditto ditto	
6 Drinking	Prayaschitta	
7 Taking prohibited food or eating with lower castes.	Ditto ditto	
8 Cow killing	(1) Offender must beg from door to door with a tethering rope in his hands for 12 days without speaking to anyone (2) Prayaschitta (3) Fine (4) Namkutan	
9 Unnatural offences	(1) Prayaschitta (2) Fine	

If there is no prayaschitta, the fine may be divided amongst the members of the khel or mel or deposited at the namghar in the village fund to be used subsequently for some public purpose sometimes part of the fine is given as compensation to the aggrieved party. If the offence involves prayaschitta, the old rule was that it was divided into four parts, of which one each was given to the king, the gosain, the local priest and the khel now-a-days the khel apparently takes the king's share, but in many cases which are referred to the gowain for decision most of the fine goes to him. Fines vary from Rs 5 to Rs 80 a prayaschitta may cost anything from 4 annas to Rs 200, and is calculated in terms of so many dhenus (cows) a one-dhenu prayaschitta is supposed to be equivalent to one rupee for a Brahman and four annas for a Sudra, but this valuation varies now-a-days

Specific instances of actual cases are given herewith as examples —

(1) A Sudra who assaulted a Brahman was ordered in expiation to make a gift of four cows. He paid Re 1 at the nominal price of four annas per cow, which was divided as follows — 8 annas to the khel, 4 to the priest, and 4 to the gosain. The Brahman changed his sacred thread and made a gift of 2 cows, the value of which was 8 annas, of which 2 went to the gosain, 2 to the priest, and 4 to the khel

(2) A Nadia disciple of the Debing sattram was fined Rs 80 by the gosain himself for having intercourse with a Muhammadan woman and was also ordered to give a feast to the people of the khel. The man has paid the fine, of which the gosain took Rs 60 and Rs 20 was paid to the khel. But he has not yet been able to give a feast, and so he has not been re-admitted to the caste

(3) A Koch had illicit intercourse with his brother's wife. The cost of prayaschitta and the feast to the villagers, together with the amounts he had to the gosain and the khel, amounted to Rs 100.

(4) A widow gave birth to an illegitimate child and declared a near relation to be its father. Both were at once excommunicated but were re-admitted into the caste after a prayashchitta costing Rs. 20 besides giving a feast to the people of the khel.

(5) A Koch was ordered by his khel to pay a fine of Rs. 5 to the village common fund for committing adultery with a Kochari woman. His gosain consulted the Smritis and prescribed as his prayashchitta the penalty of 90 cows. He paid a sum of Rs. 5-10 being the nominal value of the cows at 4 annas per head, of which one-third was taken by the gosain, one-third by the priest, and the remaining one-third by the people of the khel. He also paid 8 annas to the Brahman who officiated at the expiation ceremony.

(6) A Hindu woman quarrelled with her husband and went to a Mussalman in whose house she ate. She was ostracised, no expiation being admissible, and finally became a Mussalman.

(7) A Brahman killed a cow accidentally. The cost of the prayashchitta and the fine which he had to pay amounted to Rs. 5/-

(8) A Brahman woman discovered fishing paid a penalty of 4 annas to the khel.

(9) A Khatani arranged to marry a girl who was the step-daughter of his elder brother's wife and so within the prohibited degrees. He was excommunicated, but was re-admitted to caste on payment of a penalty of Rs. 7-8.

Amongst the Mahapurushas, who affect to disregard caste, the governing body is the Samaha at Barpeta Sattra. The members of this body are the descendants of the 280 families of bhakats of different castes who were the original donees of the endowment of the Sattra. It sits daily in the court yard of the Kirtanghar for worship and the settling of social disputes. On receiving a complaint, the Samaha summons the parties, and, if it appears to be a serious one both sides are at once excommunicated. The statement on solemn oath taken before the math or ancestral shrine of Madhab Deb bears more weight than ordinary oral rec. Very often both parties are punished, but the aggressor more heavily. The cost of the prayashchitta goes to the temple fund, and in addition a sum has to be paid to the muklis or three members of the Samaha who sit in judgment. When both these sums are paid, the parties are given a sulag patra or letter of purification bearing the seal of the Sattra, which removes the ban of excommunication, and they also receive a consecrated garland from an officer called the Ghai Dauni. If the fines are not paid and expiation not done the recusant is cut off from all communication and loses his share of the temple offerings. In Goalpara though the Rajanis who are the main caste, are Damodhuria or Mahapurusha Vaishnavas, the system is apparently similar to that in force in the Burma Valley except among the Nadirals who follow the customs of their fellow caste men in the upper districts of the Brahmaputra Valley.

into three communities or samajes, which are known as the Ujan Samaj, the Dakhinbhag Samaj, and the Sylhet Samaj. Fines are not imposed, the usual penalties being some form of prayaschitta. Amongst the Jugs of Cachar the governing body is made up of descendants of people alleged to have received a *bata* of pan from the Rajas of Cachar and of such others as have become influential since there is a separate body or samajpati for the Nathis or priests of the caste. The decisions of the temporary or khanda Jugis panchayet of the village is subject to an appeal to the panchayat, constituted from the people of several adjacent villages, and there is a further appeal to the Barasamaj, which represents the entire community and which generally deals with important questions affecting the whole caste. Offences against Shastra law are punished by prayaschitta; in other cases the offender is ordered to hold Narainseba or worship of Narain, or Harirlut, i.e., distribution of sweets in the name of God amongst the assembly, and to feast the latter. Fines are realised now-a-days only in the case of Shastra offences and are deposited in a fund for the construction of Gadi houses or in the celebration of Hari Sankirtan. It has recently been proposed that they should be deposited in the Adinath Bhandar, a fund started for the social, religious and educational advancement of the Cachar Jugs. The Patnis of Cochar are governed by Samajadhyakshas or headmen, who are elected for local areas and form a panchayet in cases which affect the whole community. Ordinary breaches of caste discipline are dealt with by the local headmen. I have left to the last the Das community of Sylhet, which corresponds to the Mahishya or Chasi Kaibarta community of Bengal, because some of their institutions are apparently peculiar. Besides the ordinary local or village panchayet which assembles for some particular case, the Dasas possess pargana panchayets, which have jurisdiction over one or more parganas and admit outside castes such as Kayasthas and their priests to have a voice in such matters as taking food from lower castes, killing a cow, or serious offences against marriage laws. It is only really serious offences that are referred to the pargana panchayet, which may, however, intervene *suo motu*. Every member of the caste living within the jurisdiction of the village or the pargana panchayet has a right to partake in its deliberations, but, as a matter of practice, wealth, intelligence, and education add weight to opinions and the body possesses a strong element of heredity. Information of a social offence is usually given by a rival or enemy of the alleged offender to one of the leading men; the latter usually make a preliminary private enquiry, and if they find any sign of truth in the complaint, call for evidence and give judgment. Ordinary offences are punished with fines, which are deposited with some prominent man and spent in feasting.

I regret that I have received very few specific instances of actual cases. A Patni¹ of Sylhet was found guilty of abusing his priest and was condemned to undergo expiation; the panchayet was held in the kutcherry of the local zamindar, whose naib played a prominent part in it. A Kaibarta was excommunicated because he took back his wife who had been enticed by a Muhammadan; he was readmitted on performing prayaschitta, and paying a fine of Rs 50, portion of which went to the Brahman and the rest furnished a feast. A Srotriya Brahman married the daughter of a Das's Brahman and was outcasted. He brought a case of defamation against those who decided against him, but they were acquitted and he remained an outcaste.

There is no relation between the caste panchayots and obaukidari panchayots, nor are there any real guilds of traders or artisans. In Sylhet the Telis have a sort of trade guild for regulating the price of oil, the Shahas have a kind of a rough commercial union, and the Patnis sometimes combine to raise the rate of boat-hire. But beyond these instances there is nothing in the nature of trade combinations in any part of the province.

In Manipur the Meitei community may be said loosely to form a caste in the sense that it is endogamous. It is divided into seven Manipur endogamous sections called salais, the latter are made up

of yumnaks or clans, which are again subdivided into sages or families. The Raja is the only one competent to pass final orders on questions affecting social matters. Breaches of the marriage law are enquired into by the piba or head of the sagei, who, if the matter is serious, reports it to the Piba Loisang or Herald's College, which advises the Raja. Punishment consists of banishment to certain villages. A piba may assemble his sagei to discuss social offences and can punish the offenders, who, however, can claim that the matter be laid before the Raja. Blacksmiths, gold-workers, brassworkers, and workers in bell-metal and copper must each keep to their trade, which is allotted to certain clans. Colonel Shakespear attributes the custom to the fact that these trades were imported and the original craftsmen were foreigners,

or else Meithis sent outside the State to acquire skill. If a worker in any of the above takes up another of the crafts, he is expelled from his own clan and made to join that of his adopted trade.

124 Certain European writers on caste have asserted that it is the sub-caste which is the real entity because it alone practices endogamy and that the caste name is merely a general term including several true castes following the same profession.
(See Function, caste, and sub-caste.)

It has been pointed out, however, that, in spite of the restrictions on marriage the subdivisions of the main caste usually regard themselves as forming a single community bound together by the tradition of a common origin as well as by the practice of a similar occupation. In order to examine the question thoroughly the Census Commissioner decided that lists of the subdivisions of twenty or thirty main castes should be examined with reference to their origin, rules of endogamy and commensality and Government. As has already been explained, there is so much laxity in the matter of caste amongst Hindus all over Assam that it is somewhat difficult to distinguish sub-castes in the proper sense of the word. A very exhaustive list of the subdivisions of caste in Assam will be found in Provincial Table X., Volume III., of the Assam Census Report for 1901. It was compiled by the Hon'ble Mr Gait, the present Census Commissioner for India, who wrote in paragraph 381 of the report with regard to the Surma Valley that "the division of the better castes into sub-castes is almost unknown" in the following paragraph, after referring to the probability that the early Aryan immigration to the Brahmaputra Valley took place before the modern evolution of caste in Bengal, he noted that, though within recent times a tendency towards the formation of functional castes was apparent, there were very few instances of separate new castes, but there were several castes in which functional subdivisions had been formed. The origin and rules of endogamy amongst these were fully discussed in 1891 and it is here proposed to refer only to the main results which have been checked with reference to the facts of 1911. If we except the well-known division of Brahmins, which distinguishes grand Brahmins from the Agraharis and the Birsa Brahmins, there is no sub-caste amongst Assam Brahmins. There is not alone no sub-caste amongst Baidyas and Kayasthas, but there is little real distinction between the two castes in Sylhet. So that as far as the higher castes are concerned, the enquiry yielded no results. In considering the principal Sudder castes which have subdivisions, it is better to keep the two classes separate.

The Bar Kalitas, who have a functional sub-caste in the Sonari Kalitas, are said to be the real Kalitas and the Saro or Little Brahmaputra Valley Kalitas are supposed to have been Kewatis originally.

The latter division often marry daughters of the Bar Kalitas who however refuse to reciprocate the compliment or to eat with the inferior branch, though they have no objection to taking *julpa* at their houses. Inter-marriage between the Sonari and the Bar Kalitas is permissible, but is looked down on by the latter. The functional sub-castes, Kumar, Bez or Napit, Mall and Nat Kalitas are endogamous and are not recognised as belonging to the caste by the Bar Kalitas. The sub-sections of the Kewati, Halua, Jalu, Dhoba, Bez, Mall, Nat, Paila, and Tell are all functional and are forbidden inter-marriage and commensality. The peculiarity of the Koch caste in being the community into which converts to Hinduism from many tribes are admitted was described in 1891 by Mr Gait. They are divided into two main sections, the Bar or Kamtsali Koch, who are considered clean Hindus, and the Biru Koch, who are converts on their way to the higher status and who have to pass through the various stages of Barakha, Madahi, Minalha, Heremli or Phairi; these sections are all endogamous and do not eat with one another. Amongst the Borias, who are said to be the offspring of a Brahmin or Grahbipra widow and a man of any caste the children are said in some places to form sub-castes in accordance with the caste of the father but in most places they appear to form one caste without distinction. Doms or Nadiras are divided according to function into Halua and Jalu, who can inter-marry if a feast is given by the bridegroom to induce his fellows acceptance of the bride but neither will marry with the Matsak Doms, who are followers of the Matsak or Moamara grain. The Brittival Bialas are Harris who have taken a trial and have separated from the others, who are known as Jarius Harris, and there is now no commensality or inter-marriage between the two sections.

In the Surma Valley Mr Gait's reference to the absence of sub-castes might practically be extended to all castes. The Birulis of Sylhet and the Baras Valley regard themselves as all belonging to the Biruli caste and the wealthier members try to pass as hayashas. The Nambardars are subdivided

into Hulin, Jalia and Dhuliva sections, but apparently they eat together and intermarry. In Suningang it is said that the Doms are a sub-caste of Namisudras, but there is no inter marriage. In Hailung the Dom Pains and Ghat Pains are said to be identical, but in the north of the district the Pains do not acknowledge any connection. The priests of the Jugs, who are called Mahants or Nathas, are forming themselves into a separate sub-caste and claim at en logum. The Das community of Sylhet have obtained a higher position locally than is allowed to the Mahishyas or Chasi Kshatriyas of Bengal and some of them resent the latter title. In any case, the Kukhills are now divided into two, if not three, sections, and the Jalias or fishermen are denied any connection with the others. The fusion of the Shahas and the Santis is an example of the efforts of a caste to keep aloof from a degrading occupation.

It may then be said generally that, so far as sub-castes exist now in Assam, their origin is mainly functional they are practically considered as different castes for purposes of marriage, eating and general discipline, which is regulated by each sub-caste in the manner described in the preceding paragraph for main castes.

125. Muhammadans recent the assertion that their community has traces of a

Caste among Muhammadans cast system and point out that it is no part of their religion, which is quite true. The fact remains, however, that certain sections of the community are modelled on the Hindu system so far as eating and marrying are concerned. In Assam the principal example is the Muharrak Sheling caste of Sylhet, which is held in low esteem and is cut off from marriage with the ordinary members of the community. The practice of giving bridewealth is quite common amongst Muhammadans in Sylhet, more especially in the Jantra Paraganas, where there are no zamindars or talukdars. The brothers or brothers-in-law of the village insist on the deposit of a sum of money by both parties before deciding a case, the loser's deposit being spent on a feast and the winner's refunded to him. I quote two examples of cases decided. In the outskirts of Sylhet town a girl was born six months after a marriage, whereon the practitioner directed the husband to divorce his wife on penalty of excommunication. The husband refused and has been boycotted. In the second case a man was excommunicated for having committed incest with his own daughter.

126. It is not proposed to enter into very great detail on the subject of the local

Local distribution of castes

distribution of castes, and in the following lines I intend to confine my attention to the main castes, i.e., those which constitute more than 2 per cent of the population and which are shown in Subsidiary Table II. The case of castes which are peculiar in being confined to single localities or for other castes I have deferred to the ethnographic glossary at the end of this chapter. The number after each caste is its total strength in round thousands.

Ahoms (197) are confined to the Brahmaputra Valley, where 66 per cent of their number was censused in Sibsagar and 30 per cent in Lakhimpur.

Baruis (25) live mostly in Sylhet, where seven-eighths of them were found. about one-eleventh were enumerated in Cachar.

Bauris (4) were imported to Assam by the tea gardens, where no less than four-fifths were censused. They are strong in Cachar, Sylhet, Lakhimpur and Sibsagar.

Bhars (11) are also tea garden importations. Over 68 per cent of them were found on tea gardens. They are most numerous in the Surma Valley.

Bhunmalis (35) are practically confined to Sylhet. Many of them have returned themselves as Mohis.

Bhuyas (67) show 66 per cent of their number on tea gardens. Nearly two-fifths of them were censused in Sibsagar and the majority of the rest in Lakhimpur, Darrang, Cachar and Sylhet.

Bhunaz (30) is an imported caste, which has a similar distribution to the last except that Sib-sagar contains about two-sevenths of the total.

Borais (22) are confined to the Brahmaputra Valley, where over 51 per cent were found in Nowgong, 27 per cent in Sibsagar, and 19 per cent in Darrang.

Brahmans (126) are scattered everywhere, but Sylhet contains nearly 32 per cent of the total. There are about 21 per cent in Kamrup, 11 per cent in Sibsagar, and 9 per cent in Darrang, where the Grahapras or Gauaka have swollen the number, vide remarks in the glossary.

Chamors (34) are especially strong in the Surma Valley tea gardens 69 per cent. of the total were censused on tea estates.

Chutiya (60) are confined mostly to the upper Brahmaputra Valley : 65 per cent. were enumerated in Silsagar 23 per cent. in Lakhimpur and 8 per cent. in Nowgong.

Doms (31) are now for the first time shown separately from Nadiyals and Patrias. It is difficult, if not impossible to distinguish between indigenous Doms or Nadiyals and the foreigners who are imported by tea gardens or come up as fishermen and ferry men. About half the total number were censused on tea estates over 27 and 33 per cent. of the total were censused in the districts of Lakhimpur and Silsagar and about 12 per cent. each in Darrang and Cachar. In order to make an estimate I had notes made in the sorters' tickets, and found that in Silsagar 60 per cent. of the Doms were Assamese, 20 per cent. were foreigners and 15 per cent. were not tested. In Lakhimpur 45 per cent. were not tested, and the remainder were half Assamese and half foreigners.

Ghosi (16) is another caste strong on tea gardens, where three-fourths of them were enumerated 57 per cent. were in Silsagar and Lakhimpur and the rest mainly in Cachar and Darrang.

Goalay (42) are scattered over the province, but no less than 34 per cent. were found on tea gardens. Sylhet contains 81 per cent. of the total.

Gonds (6*) are recruited for tea gardens, where 68 per cent. of them were found over 28 per cent. were enumerated in Lakhimpur 23 per cent. in Silsagar and 23 per cent. in the Surma Valley.

Grakabisbras or *Ganaks* (*) are strongest in the Brahmaputra Valley where 73 per cent. of the total were enumerated, and they are mainly confined to Darrang and Kamrup, which account for 58 per cent. of the total.

Hiras (10) belong to the Brahmaputra Valley where 42 per cent. were enumerated in Nowgong and 33 per cent. in Kamrup.

Jagis (100) are most numerous in Sylhet, which contains 47 per cent. of the total. the rest are scattered in numbers approximating to 10 per cent. in each of the plains districts except Lakhimpur where they are few.

Kacharis (230) are confined to the Brahmaputra Valley and North Cachar : 93 per cent. were enumerated in the former where Kamrup contained 40 per cent. and Darrang 37 per cent.

Kalbarttas (131) are returned in three classes, (i) Kalbarttas pure and simple (ii) Chasi Kalbarttas or Mahishvans, (iii) Jallya Kalbarttas. The two latter classes are confined to the Surma Valley where they were practically all enumerated in Sylhet. The first class represents mainly Nadiyals and Kewats, who object to their own castenames, but the Kewats are apparently now resigning in favour of the Nadiyals, with whom they do not wish to be confounded. The Nadiyals have obtained the permission of their gomain to call themselves Kalbarttas. Out of the 20 871 Kalbarttas censused in the Brahmaputra Valley over 17 000 were enumerated in Kamrup.

Kalitas (333) belong to the Brahmaputra Valley where Kamrup returned 59 per cent. and Silsagar 19 per cent.

Kamars (43) are indigenous in the Surma Valley and also imported to tea estates, where more than half the total number was found, Silsagar and Lakhimpur each containing 23 per cent. as an indigenous caste they are most numerous in Sylhet.

Kayasthas (3*) were returned mostly from Sylhet, which contains 64 per cent. of the total : about 3 per cent. were found in various districts of the Brahmaputra Valley.

Kerkets (60) belong to the Brahmaputra Valley where Kamrup contains 33 per cent., Silsagar 7 per cent. and Nowgong and Darrang 10 and 17 per cent. respectively. See remarks above against Kalbarttas.

Kshetris (251) are the Hindooised Manipuri 60 per cent. were returned in Manipur itself 10 per cent. in Cachar and about 12 per cent. in Sylhet both of which contain large settlements of Manipuri.

Koch (*) is the great caste of the Brahmaputra Valley into which converts from Animism are eventually absorbed, especially in the central districts. 13 per cent. were enumerated in Kamrup 9 per cent. in Darrang and 16 per cent. in Nowgong.

Kumars (48) are almost equally divided between the two valleys. In the Surma Valley four-fifths were found in Sylhet, and in the Brahmaputra Valley more than half were censused in Kamrup.

Kurmi (25) is a foreign caste and almost half its members were enumerated on tea gardens, where they are strongest in the Surma Valley, Sibsagar, and Lakhimpur. the same distribution holds good for the total

Lalungs (39) are practically confined to Nowgong, and there is an overflow of about 9 per cent in Khasi Hills

Lois (18) are entirely confined to Manipur

Mahimal (77) is a low fishing caste of Muhammadans and is confined to the Surma Valley, where Sylhet contained 88 per cent and Cachar 12 per cent

Mali (*Malakar*) (14) is a clean caste, with which the Bhuiyans wish to identify themselves nearly 59 per cent were found in Sylhet and 19 per cent in Kamrup

Malo (20) is a fishing caste of the Surma Valley, where over 80 per cent were censused in Sylhet

Mech (95) is the name of an Animistic tribe, which is practically the same as Kachari, it is confined to Goalpara

Mikirs (105) belong to the Brahmaputra Valley, where 45 per cent were found in Nowgong, 24 per cent in Sibsagar, and nearly 11 per cent in Kamrup in the two former districts there are Mikir hill tracts

Miris (58) are confined to the upper Brahmaputra Valley, where they have come to settle from the hills on the north and east they are Animists and are confined to Lakhimpur, Sibsagar, where however 59 per cent of them are returned as Hindus, and Darrang

Mundas (91) are imported by tea gardens, where 58 per cent of them were censused over 21 per cent of the total were found in Lakhimpur they are strong also in Sibsagar, Cachar, Sylhet and Darrang

Musahars (14) are tea-garden coolies, who are most numerous in the Surma Valley, especially in Cachar 67 per cent were enumerated on tea estates

Nadyal (68) is a Brahmaputra Valley caste they are now shown separately from Doms, who include foreigners 31 and 26 per cent were censused in Nowgong and Sibsagar, 17 per cent in Kamrup, and 12 and 11 per cent in Lakhimpur and Darrang

Namasundra (173) is the name now in favour in the Surma Valley but Chaial still holds its place in the Brahmaputra Valley Eight-ninths of the total were censused in the former, while in the latter the caste is confined to Kamrup and Goalpara

Napits (37) are strongest in the Surma Valley, where 65 per cent were censused in Sylhet the Brahmaputra Valley contains 29 per cent, of which 16 per cent were enumerated in Kamrup and 5 per cent in Goalpara

Nuniyas (14) are earth-workers from Bihar less than one-third were found on tea gardens nearly one-third were enumerated in Sylhet the rest were scattered over Sibsagar, Kamrup, Goalpara, and Cachar

Oraons (29) are recruited by tea gardens, which contained nearly 41 per cent of the total, mostly in the Brahmaputra Valley and especially in Lakhimpur they were found also in Darrang, Sibsagar, and Cachar

Pan (*Pamka*) (18) is the name of a caste recruited by tea gardens, where 81 per cent of the total were found they are most numerous in Lakhimpur, Sibsagar, Sylhet, and Darrang

Patni (111) is a Surma Valley caste 64 per cent were censused in Sylhet and the rest in Cachar

Rabhas (79) belong to the Brahmaputra Valley, where 41 per cent were enumerated in Goalpara

Rajbansis (133) are practically confined to Goalpara, where over 96 per cent of them were censused

Rajput Chaitri (27) is an up-country caste, 78 per cent of the members of which were found in the Brahmaputra Valley they are strongest in Darrang, Lakhimpur, Sibsagar and Kamrup the number of women is only 59 per cent of that of the men

Santhals (59) are imported mainly by tea gardens, which contained 55 per cent of them 83 per cent were censused in the Brahmaputra Valley they are most numerous in Lakhimpur Sibsagar Goalpara, Darrang Sylhet and Cachar In Goalpara they live in a colony started by the Lutheran Mission of Chota Nagpur

Shaka (54) is the great trading caste of Bengal they are indigenous in Sylhet which contained 87 per cent. of the total most of the rest are in Kamrup and represent the Assamese caste Son.

Sudras (119) are practically confined to Sylhet.

Sutradhars (16) are confined to Sylhet which contains 83 per cent. of the total, and Goalpara, where 15 per cent. were censused

Tantis (41) in Assam are mostly coolies on tea gardens, which contain 71 per cent. of them they are strongest in Lakhimpur Sibsagar, Darrang, Sylhet, and Cachar.

Teli (74) (30) as an indigenous caste is practically confined to Sylhet, which contains 73 per cent. of the total the rest are mostly on tea gardens.

Taris (17) are imported by tea gardens, which contain 76 per cent. of them they are strongest in Sibsagar and a good proportion were found in Cachar and Sylhet.

127 In Subsidiary Table II will be found in round thousands the number of persons returned at each census under each caste which con-

tributes more than 2 per mille to the total population I do not propose to examine each caste in turn, but shall draw attention to a few points deserving of notice. When castes show a general condition of progress, there is usually nothing to be said they simply share in the general increases of population or of immigration where there is a decrease, it is usually due (i) to an attempt to adopt a new caste name, or (ii) to some confusion with a similar name or (iii) to the separation of castes or sub-castes previously grouped together

The Baruis showed a decrease in 1901, because they tried to return themselves as Kayasthas, as they did in 1891 now we have probably a greater approach to accuracy The Bhuiyamals are apparently steadily declining because they are more and more returning themselves as Malis. The Borms have recovered their losses in Nowrang from Kala-azir in 1891 Brahmanas have increased partly by the inclusion of more Grahabipras and Barua Brahmans under the more respectable title, while Grahabipras have apparently just held their own. Gonds show an enormous increase since 1901, while Santhals show a very large decline against the very large expansion disclosed at the last census. I think that this must be due in part to a wrong return of caste either now or in 1901, and in view of the precautions taken at this census I am inclined to rely more on our present figures both castes are recruited by tea gardens, and the difference in the number of immigrants from the Central Provinces now and in 1901 is not sufficient to account for the very large increase in Gonds, nor is there any reason to believe that the number of Santhals has really decreased in practically every district of the province. The number of Jugsis has grown, but they are still less than in 1891 probably because many of them returned themselves in Sylhet as Sudras. Kocharis are declining partly by conversions to Hinduism when they become Koches of various kinds, partly by excessive mortality in Manjildil subdivision, and partly by their increased return as Meches in Goalpara. Kaliabritis have decreased because the name Kowai is returning to favour in the Brahmaputra Valley and partly on account of the return of other names, such as Sodra, in the Surma Valley. Kayasthas show a decrease owing to the weeding out of persons improperly claiming this title. Koches are as yet fewer than in 1901 which is probably due to their still returning other names. It is satisfactory to notice that the Lalungs show signs of recovery from their large mortality from Kaliabritis in 1891. Mahimals were returned in greater number in spite of the agitation to abolish Muslim madan cast names. Musahirs have apparently increased this is probably due to the return of other names correctly or incorrectly. The group Nadinal Dom I state shows an increase which is partly attributable to the decrease in the return of Kaliabritis. Namisudras are still less numerous than in 1891 probably again because the more well-to-do members of the community in Sylhet are disusing the name. The increase in Sikkis corresponds to the general increase of Muhammadans. Gujis have a very large increase which accounts in part for the decrease in the Kaliabritis and perhaps the Namisudra caste.

128 The question of race in India was considered on an anthropometrical basis
 in the last India Census Report, but since that time it
 would appear that anthropometry has fallen in favour

Race It was argued before the British Association in 1908 that physical type depends more on environment than on race. The old distinction between brachycephalic and dolichocephalic types seems to be baseless, if we accept as general the results of Walcher's experiments with babies in Germany he apparently altered the shape of the head by using soft or hard pillows with the former the infant slept on its back and became short-headed, while the hard pillow made it sleep on its side and produced the reverse result. Two lines of enquiry were suggested at the present census, first, as to the prevalence of pigmented tongues among the Munda and Dravidian races, and secondly how far the assertion of Baelz that the appearance of blue patches on the sacral region of infants is a proof of the existence of a Mongolian strain. I regret that the enquiry regarding the former was unsuccessful out of 615 cases examined in Gauhati dispensary only two showed melanoglossia, of whom one was a Kayastha and one a Sutra, caste unspecified. In Sibsagar Dr Smith examined 497 tea-garden coolies and found 68 cases of melanoglossia amongst the following castes — Musahar and Rajwar of Monghyr, Santhal, Kamar and Kora of the Santhal Parganas, Bhuiya, Bhokta, Dosad and Turi of Hazaribagh, Oraon, Munda, Barak, Kamar, Lohai and Rajput of Ranchi, Bhuiya of Gava, Saura, Konda, Kora, and Telenga of Ganjam, Uriya of Berhampore and Gond of Seoni. In Lakimpur it was found in nearly 50 per cent of similar cases. Several doctors are of opinion that melanoglossia is a pathological phenomenon and therein differ from Lieutenant-Colonel Maynard, R.M.S., who originated the enquiry.

The information received regarding blue patches is more satisfactory. Their discoverer, Herr Baelz, describes them as follows —

Every Chinese, every Korean, Japanese and Malay is born with a dark blue patch of irregular shape in the lower sacral region. Sometimes it is equally divided on both sides and sometimes not. Sometimes it is only the size of a shilling and at other times nearly as large as the hand. In addition there are also more or less numerous similar patches on the trunk and limbs, but never on the face. Sometimes they are so numerous as to cover nearly half the surface of the body. Their appearance is as if the child had been bruised by a fall. These patches generally disappear in the first year of life, but sometimes they last for several years.

In Goalpara it is said that 30 to 40 per cent of the infants of Meohas, Rabhas and Rajhansis possess these blue marks, which are also found sporadically amongst other Hindus and Muhammadans, more especially in the north of the district. In Kamrup they appear in Kacharis and many local Hindus and Muhammadans the actual results of cases examined are 70 per cent among Kacharis, 50 per cent among Koehes, and 25 per cent among Kalitas. In view of this it is surprising to learn that they are unknown in Darrang or Sibsagar, but I think that the enquiry was not made on proper lines in these districts. In Nowgong the spots are common amongst Mikirs, but are said not to exist on Lalung infants. In Lakimpur they were found amongst Ahoms, Nadivals, Kacharis, and Nepalis the percentage amongst Ahoms was about 38, amongst Nadivals 1, amongst Kacharis 25, and amongst Nepalis 10. In Cachai plains local Hindu and Muhammadan infants have the marks amongst tea-garden coolies Captain Godson, Civil Surgeon, found them in 75 per cent of Chota Nagpuri castes. The spots are very common amongst Lushais, Khasis, and Garos, and appear on Naga and Manipuri infants, but are said not to be very prevalent. It is rather difficult to draw certain conclusions from the above reports and in fact the enquiry is a difficult one to make, because the people when questioned are inclined to give a brief negative reply and so spare themselves further questioning, and it is not always feasible for officers who are engaged in other duties to take up an investigation of this kind. The negative results of Darrang and Sibsagar are contradicted by the reports from neighbouring districts with regard to the castes which are common to all. Originally reports were received from the Civil Surgeons of the Gaio and the Lushai Hills that blue spots were not found in their charges, but Colonel Cole found by actual examination that they exist in 90 per cent of Lushai infants, and further enquiries in the Gaio Hills by the Deputy Commissioner and another Civil Surgeon proved their existence in 75 per cent of Gaio infants. I think that, on the whole, it would be fair to assume that blue spots are fairly common amongst all classes in Assam, though I have had no report from Sylhet. If this assumption is compared with the results in other parts of India, it may be possible to deduce the southern limit of the Mongolian strain.

GLOSSARY

[Note.—Castes which are indigenous are marked as follows:—When indigenous in Province (A), in Brahmaputra Valley (B), in Hills (H), in Sircar Valley (S). The figures in brackets after each name are the total strength of the casts with few indigenous exceptions, no caste with less than 10 members has been shown.]

199 Abor (B) (856)—A tribe inhabiting the hills on the north-east of Brahmaputra Valley between the Dihong and the Saseri, whose violence necessitated a punitive expedition in 1911 A.D. They are divided into numerous clans, but, unlike the majority of hillmen, act together in all matters affecting the general welfare of the tribe.

Agaria (I, 119)—A cultivating caste found in the tributary mahals of Chota Nagpur. More than half were censused on tea gardens in Cachar Sylhet, and Sibapur.

Agarwal (5,360)—A wealthy trading caste of Upper India, who claim to represent the Vaidyas of Meera; they are known under the generic term of Kayash.

Agrahani Brahman (817)—A degraded sub-caste of Brahmins, who read *sacredas* at cremations and take gifts at *sraaddha*.

Ahirs (13,763)—This name indicates either a section of Ghans or a sub-caste of Goalas, but there is nothing to show to which caste these Ahirs belonged.

Ahoms (B) (197,444)—The Ahoms are the descendants of a Shan tribe who entered Assam in the 13th century and, after overthrowing the Chutiya and Koch Kingdoms became rulers of the Brahmaputra Valley; see Gait's *History of Assam*.

Aiton (B) (414)—A small section of the Shan tribe, who are said to have supplied *sacredas* for the royal succession. Like the Nors and Phakuyals, they are still Buddhist. Some of them have possibly been returned as Shans.

Aka (H) (36)—A small and independent tribe occupying the hills to the north of Terper between Tawang and the Bharwali. Colonel Dalton considers them to be closely allied to the Daisas, Ahirs, and Abors, but they differ from them considerably in appearance.

Akura (150)—A small non-Aryan tribe of Ranchi, who in their own country are smelters of iron; 165 were censused on tea gardens.

Aitit (173)—This term may indicate either a religious mendicant or a goat.

Bagdil (3,391)—A cultivating fishing and mercial caste of Central and Western Bengal who appear to be of Dravidian descent. 6,066 out of the total number enumerated were censused on tea gardens.

Baidya (S) (5,010)—The physician caste, who are said to be the same as the Ambeethas of Mava, i.e. the offspring of Brahman father and Vaisya mother. They hold a high position in Hindu society. In Bengal they wear the sacred thread, but this is not as yet the practice in Sylhet and they observe, like Sudras, thirty days *samsara* (impurity after birth or death). The great majority of the Baidyas are found in Sylhet, where they inter-marry with Kayasthas. They abstain from all manual labour.

Balishnab or Bairagi (A) (11,541)—A term indicating a religious mendicant, generally devoted to the worship of Vishnu, who may be of any caste. Most of those enumerated were censused in Sylhet.

Baiti or Chumari (S) (1,135)—A small caste which derives its second title from being engaged in the manufacture of hives from shells. Its members are also mat-makers, weavers, dancers, and beggars.

Baniya (A) (200)—The term has a wide connotation, and, properly speaking, is not a caste name at all. Those returned in Assam were probably Sonars, who are natives of the province; the name is also used by Gondhanikas in Sylhet, and by foreigners who trade in grain and other articles.

Barhi (711)—Theoretically the carpenter caste of Behar, but many of its members have taken to agriculture.

Barna Brahman (A) (5,059)—Under the term Barna Brahman are included the priest of those castes to whom a good Brahman deifies a son later. These persons are either genuine Brahmins who have been degraded, or members of the castes to whom they serve, who by a fiction have been entitled Brahmins. The return of such a caste is obviously most unreliable.

Barni (S) (23,151)—The Barni are cultivators of the betel vine, and their pia gardens are to be seen on the banks of many of the rivers in the Sylhet district, which contains 22,316 of the total 24,000 enumerated at the census. The Barnis resemble members of the *Nasakis* and *Baris* in their *Hukum* as their priest; but they are not contented with their pia trees, and endeavor to get them to enter into *kavasbas*.

Bauri (13,912)—A culturing caste of Western Bengal, of non-Brahmin origin. Their *beti* is very low and they eat it of jerk and fowls and are much addicted to strong drink. They are employed as coolies in Assam, 23,000 of them having been in the last *maij* in Assam.

Bediya (4,191)—It is not well informed to ascertain whether the persons return as *bari* or *rebi* or *bedi* or *pediyas*. The Bediyas are small agricultural tribes. 1,721 of the people returned under the *bedi* were supposed to be connected with the *hukum*. This majority of the people returned under the *bedi* were supposed to be connected with the *hukum*, and Lakhimpur and were probably Behats. Behat is the generic name for a number of ancient *gaj* yoke groups.

Bebata (34)—A title of *Laud*, *Fauji*, *Claud*, *Kalare*, & others.

Beldar (270)—An earth-working caste of Behar and Western Bengal. They are akin to the Nunias, but will only carry the earth in baskets balanced on the head, 159 were censused on tea gardens.

Besya (A) (1,494)—A title of prostitutes used in Sylhet and Goalpara

Bhandari (S) (155)—A title applied to indoor servants in Sylhet

Bhar (14,269)—A small Dravidian caste of Western Bengal and Chota Nagpur, 9,700 were censused on the tea gardens of the province, the great majority being found in the Surma Valley

Bhat (S) (969)—A respo table caste, whose traditional occupation is that of genealogist and family bard. In Sylhet they claim to be Kshutriyas, and a certain number hav. probably returned themselves under that name, but though Brahmins will take their water, they will not take food cooked by them. Very few Bhats were census d outside the Sylhet district

Bhatiya (643)—A term applied in Goalpara to 'down river' Muhammadans who come to Assam to trade

Bhogta (11,019)— Said to be a sub-caste of Kharwar, but in Ranchi it is a separate caste their traditional occupation is grain-parching, but now-a days the people are usually labourers and cultivators

Bhotia (763)—The majority were consnsed in Kamrup and Darrang, these being the two districts between which and Towang (a small province under the control of Tibet, which touches our frontier near Udaguri) and Bhutan there is most trade

Bhuinmali (S) (85,285)— An indigenous caste of Sylhet, who are said to be allied to the Haris. The majority of the caste are now cultivat r, palanquin bearers, tank excavators, and so forth. In 1881 these persons were all shown as Mali, and the decrease in numbers at the present census, as compared with 1801 and 1891, is probably due to an increased use of this term. Very few Bhuiamalis were censused outside the Sylhet district

Bhuyia (60,670)—An aboriginal tribe of Chota Nagpur, which is in great request on tea gardens, where 44,116 Bhuyias were censused. They were found in considerable numbers in every tea district, more especially in Sibagir

Bhumij (33,684)—A Dravidian tribe of Chota Nagpur closely allied to the Munda. They are still in a primitive stage of Hinduism, and consume fowls and liquor. Probably all th Bhumil censused in the province came to it originally as coolies, and 24,560 were censused on the tea plantations

Bind (3,260)—A large non-Aryan caste of Behar and Upper India, who are connected with the Nunias. Their social status is low, and they are generally employed as fishermen, earth-workers, and daily labourers, 1,673 were censused on tea gardens

Binjhia (878)—An agricultural tribe found in Palamu district. They are still in the earlier stages of conversion to Hinduism, and eat fowl and wild pig. In Assam they are employed as garden coolies

Birhor (454)—A small Dravidian tribe of Chota Nagpur, who live in the jungle in tiny huts made of branches of trees, and eke out a miserable living by snaring hares and monkeys and collecting jungle products. The Birhors censused in Assam have been imported as garden coolies

Boria (B) (21,518)—A caste which is peculiar to Assam, and is formed from the offspring of Brahman and Ganak widows and their descendants. Boria is said to be derived from 'bari,' a widow, but people prefer to call themselves Snt. The children of Brahman girls who have attained puberty before marriage and so have to be married to men of a lower caste are also classed with Borias. It is a singular fact that Borias are more numerous in Nowgong than in any other district, though the number of Brahmins there is comparatively small

Brahman (A) (126,015)—The highest of the three twice-born castes and originally the priest of the Aryan community. In the eleventh century Ballal Sen, a king of Bengal, instituted a careful enquiry into the qualifications of the Brahmans in his kingdom, and a certain proportion were found deficient in their knowledge of the Hindu ritual and lax in their practice. According to one tradition these ignorant Brahmans were the ancestors of the greater part of the Brahman community in Assam and though their numbers have from time to time been recruited by priests who were imported from India by the various native kings, the Brahmans of Assam are not so highly organised a community as tho o of Bengal. There is no Kulism, in the Assam Valley there are no sub-castes, and in Sylhet the Karhi and Barendra sub-castes are almost unknown. In Lower Assam Brahmans are said to take *gadhon* when they give their daughters in marriage, and there is a certain amount of laxity in their observance of the rules regarding the *gotra*. See Agadani and Barna Brahman

Brittial Baniya (B) (9,084)—At the 1891 census [this caste was returned under the name of Hari, which was shown in brackets in 1901 and now disappears] the following remarks were recorded about them in the 1891 report—

"Their position has of late years much improved, especially in the Brahmaputra Valley, where they have taken largely to trade and to working in gold, and many of them now describe themselves by euphemistic terms expressive of these occupations, such as Brittial and Sonari."

Chakma (255)—An important tribe in Chittagong Hill Tracts, none were enumerated outside Lushai Hills

Chamar (54,284)—The tanner caste of Behar and Upper India. They are largely employed as coolies, especially in the Surma Valley, and 38,783 were censused on tea gardens. They stand at the very bottom of the scale in the Hindu social system

Chasa (4,450)—The chief cultivating caste of Orissa, who, though probably of non-Aryan origin, rank sufficiently high for Brahmins to take water from their hands, 3,508 out of the total were numerated on tea gardens

Chero (1,243)—A cultivating caste of Behar and Chota Nagpur which there enjoys a fairly good position ; 901 Cheros were censused on tea gardens.

Chik (Birlik) (5,703)—A sub-caste of Pangs in Chota Nagpur ; 3,851 were censused on tea gardens in all the tea districts.

Chintia (B) (33,925)—This caste represents the descendants of a tribe who were the dominant power in the Upper Brahmaputra Valley before the Ahoms who crushed them in the beginning of the 18th century. They are now divided into Hindu, Ahom, and Burmese Chintias.

Dafia (B) (939)—A tribe who live in the hills to the north of the Terai and North Lakhimpur subdivisions.

Dalai (328)—A Hindooised section of the Garos found in the plains on the south and in Mymensingh. See Playfair's *Geog.*, page 60 where they are called Deulas.

Damai (1,331)—A Nepalese caste, whose traditional occupation is tailoring.

Dardi (708)—An occupational rather than a caste name, indicating a tailor.

Datiya (937)—A Muhammadan fishing caste found in Goalpara, where they are probably immigrants from Rangpur or Mymensingh.

Dahan (8) (1,137)—A small caste in Cachar, who are said to have formed part of an expedition despatched from the Assam Valley in the time of Nar Narayan. They claim to be Koshas or Rajbansis.

Dhanuk (610)—A cultivating caste of Bihar. Their social position is respectable as they rank with Kurmis and Koiras and Brahmans will take water from their hands ; 143 were censused on tea gardens.

Dhenuar (50)—A section of Khurias in Chota Nagpur ; 451 were censused on tea gardens.

Dhimar (275)—A Debari caste, whose traditional occupation is grain-parching : they work as servants and labourers.

Dhobi or Dhobi (S) (36,565)—The Dhobis are the washermen caste of Bengal and Orissa, and the Dhobi the corresponding caste in Bihar ; I have amalgamated them, the names are so much alike and very little difference can be placed between separate figures. The social position of the caste is low and they mix with Chandal and people of that class ; the decrease noticed in 1901 in Sylhet has disappeared owing to more strict enumeration ; in 1901 they were suspected of having turned themselves in numbers as Sodas in Sylhet.

Dhoti (S) (11,292)—A fractional caste which has possibly sprung from the Patni or Kukharta. They rank very low in the social scale and their traditional occupation is drumming. Only 102 Dhotis were censused outside Sylhet.

Dhunda (103)—A N. Indian a caste of cotton carders.

Doaniya (B) (1,947)—A small race, descended from Singhpuri and their Assamese slaves ; 35 were censused in Nagaon and 1,644 in Lakhimpur.

Dotadh (10,035)—A degraded Aryan or related Dravidian caste of Bihar and Chota Nagpur. Their social status is very low and they will eat pork, tortoises, and fowls ; 5,631 were censused on tea gardens, the majority being found in the Barma Valley.

Gandapali (S) (973)—A small caste which is practically confined to Sylhet. One theory of their origin is that they were hillmen who were employed as grooms on boats in rigging the *Asars* of western Sylhet, where there used formerly to be a good deal of river traffic, and who subsequently took to boating as a profession.

Gandabanki (S) (3,077)—The spice-selling, druggist, and grocer caste of Bengal. They are sometimes called Brijiyas and of late years have taken to the manufacture of jewellery. They are a clean S. As caste and are located amongst the Vaishnaks ; 1,478 were censused in Sylhet and 532 in Goalpara.

Ganjhi (160)—A tribe of Bishnias, Goonds, Khandalis, Kharwars, Morihares and others, the greatest decrease since 1901 when their number was 2,172 due to more accurate enumeration ; practically all those returned were in S. Jhat and none were found on tea gardens.

Gari (1,034)—The shepherd and goatherd caste of Bihar.

Gaur (5,574)—The milkman caste of Orissa ; these creatures here were imported by tea gardens, which contained 2,030 of them.

Garo (H) (144,330)—An A. nomic tribe whose home is in the hills which bear their name ; see Elphinstone's *Geog.*. Their number in 1901 was 123,117.

Gharti (274)—A Nepalese caste or sub-caste.

Ghosi (15,111)—A Dravidian fishing and culture-caste of Chota Nagpur. They rank with Bir and M. sub to eat beef and por. I am greatly inclined to drink. The Ghosis are a crole caste and 11,319 were censused on tea gardens.

Ghatwai (4,003)—This is not a caste but a title of many castes, such as Biharis, Kharwa, Banni, &c., who have been brought into the province as garden colonists. The name was retained by one-fifth of the number here in 1901 owing to mere administrative reasons. In fact, I have inquiries, I could not determine the real caste of the people now shown, as they were ignorant of the true names.

Goalai (S) (4,210)—The cowherd caste of J. din. In P. bar they rank as a clean cast. from whom Brahman can take water. In P. no other are placed below it. In J. din, 1,114 in Orissa the Goalais caste is high standard of purity and look down upon all cast. fol. in Bengal and P. bar. Goalais, the Brahman caste, they are preball. all religions and only a portion of them in Sylhet and Cachar are native of the province.

Gond (51,572)—A Dravidian tribe of the Central Provinces, who come to this province as coolies I have referred to their great increase in paragraph 127

Gorait (3,547)—A caste of Ranchi and Palamau, whose traditional occupation is music and comb-making. They eat beef and pork, and indulge freely in liquor, 2,590 were censused on tea gardens

Gosain (164)—Not a caste, but the title of Hindu missionaries or preachers, 99 were censused in Kamrup

Grahabipra (Ganak) (21,489)—The agitation in the Brahmaputra Valley, where Ganaks held a much higher position than in the Surma Valley and Bengal, lead to the adoption of the new title Grahabipra. In Bengal they are known as Acharji or Daibajna Brahmins, but apparently the high caste Brahmins of the Brahmaputra Valley object to the use of their title

Guria (Godia) (441)—The confectioner caste of Orissa and a sub caste of Mallahs in Bihar probably those censused are Mallahs from their distribution, Cachar and Goalpara containing the majority

Gurung (21,241)—One of the best of the fighting tribes of Nepal. They are found in every district of the province, but are most numerous in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, where a Gurkha regiment is stationed

Hajong (5,298)—The home of this tribe is the Gare Hills and the submontane tracts of Sylhet, 6,492 persons living been censused in the former and 1,543 in the latter district. In 1891, the Hajong language and the Hajong tribe were both said to be of Bodo origin, but subsequent investigations have revealed that the Hajong language is akin to Bengal.

Hajam (2,918)—The barber caste of Behar. Their status is good, and Brahmins take water from their hands

Halwai (1,930)—The confectioner caste of Behar. Their social position is good and Brahmins will take water from their hands. They are found in small numbers in most of the districts of the province, where they are probably serving as shopkeepers

Hari (S) (5,598)—A menial and scavenging caste of Bengal

Hira (B) (16,351)—The caste is said to be a functional offshoot from the Namasudra or Chandals. The Hiras are potters, the men bringing the clay and taking the pots to market, and the women fashioning them, not with the potter's wheel, but by laying on the earth in strips. Hiras drink and smoke with Chandals, and give them their daughters in marriage, but will not take a Chandali to wife themselves. The increase in their numbers is due to more accurate enumeration than in 1901.

Jaladha (B) (6,700)—In Darrang these people are said to be a degraded class of Kachari, but they claim to be superior and not inferior to that tribe. According to Mr Allen Jaladhas and Kacharis do not, as a rule, inter-marry, and when they do, they have to perform *prasachi*, the wife taking the caste of her husband. In Goalpara, where the majority of Jaladhas are found, they are said to have taken *saran*, and to have a Brahman and a Napit.

Jat (135)—Either a sub-caste of Goalas, or an agricultural caste of the Punjab

Jatapu (753)—A civilised section of the Khonds in Madras they were enumerated only in tea gardens in Sibsagar and Lakhimpur

Jhora (708)—A small caste of Chota Nagpur believed to be a sub-tribe of Gonds the name is also used as a title by Kewats in Behar, 612 were censused on tea gardens

Jolaha (7,207)—A Muhammadan weaver caste 72 were returned as Hindus the majority were censused in Sylhet and Goalpara

Jugi (A) (169,097)—A weaving caste whose origin is obscure, and who are treated with much contempt by the pure Sudra castes. In the Surma Valley they style themselves Nath, and claim descent from Gorakshanath, a devotee of Gorakhpur, who is said to have been an incarnation of Siva. On the strength of this ancestor, the Jugis bury instead of burn their dead, and frequently pose as sannysis. In Cachar they are making great efforts to rise in the social scale, and are discarding widow remarriage. In the Brahmaputra Valley the caste contains five subdivisions, the Sapmelas or snake-charmers, the Katanis, the Polupolus, or rearers of silkworms, the Dulijas or palki-bearers, and the Thiyapotas, who bury their dead upright. The Katanis usually burn their dead, and the Jugis of Goalpara are taking to infant marriage.

Kachari (B & H) (230,102)—A section of the great Bodo tribe, which at one time seems to have been in occupation of a large part of the valley of the Brahmaputra. See Endle's *Kacharis*

Kahar (11,706)—A cultivating and palanquin-bearing caste of Behar, who in Bengal rank in the social scale with Kurmis and Goalas, Brahmins taking water from their hands, but according to Risley many of them eat fowls, and they are much addicted to liquor, 3,703 were censused on tea gardens, mostly in the Surma Valley

Kaibartta (A) (131,253)—According to Risley no serious attempt can be made to trace the origin of the Kaibartta, but he suggests as a plausible hypothesis that they were amongst the earliest inhabitants of Bengal, and occupied a commanding position there, and that the Kewats were a branch of the same tribe which settled in Behar, gradually became endogamous and adopted a Hindu name. In Kamrup the names Kewat and Kaibartta seem to be interchangeable, but, as the Nadyals want to be known as Kaibarttas, the Kewats are discarding the name. The Kaibarttas are divided into two functional groups, which for all intents and purposes are separate castes, the Chasi and the Jaliya, but this distinction is practically confined to the Surma Valley, where, as in Bengal, the Chasi Kaibarttas were permitted to return themselves as Mahishyas. Closely allied to them is the Halwa Das caste, which at first wish to be identified with the Mahishyas, but there was a split some years ago, and many of the Halwa Dases kept aloof from the Mahishyas. In Eastern Bengal there was no such difference of opinion and the whole efforts of the caste were directed to secure their distinction from the Jaliya Kaibarttas. In defence to the want of unanimity in Sylhet Government decided that, though the Halwa Dases should be included in the total of the Mahishyas, their number should be shown separately.

in the remarks column of Table XIII. Unfortunately owing to the neglect of my directions, these orders were not obeyed in the central office at Chittagong where the Sylhet slips were sorted, and the Halwa Dases do not now appear. Perhaps they will have made up their differences with the Makhiyas at the next census. The strength of the three sections is as follows:—

Kabertia	—	—	—	20,812, almost all in the Brahmaputra Valley
Makhiya (Chasi Kabertia)	—	—	—	45,913
Jalha haburta				45,006} almost all in Surma Valley

Kalita (B) (22,042)—There is much uncertainty as to the origin of this caste. The popular explanation is that Kalitas are Kabertiahs who, fleeing from the wrath of Parasuram, concealed their castes and their persons in the jungles of Assam and were thus called Kalita. Other theories are that they are Kayasthas degraded for having taken to cultivation; an explanation which in itself seems somewhat improbable. The most plausible suggestion is that they are the remains of an Aryan colony who settled in Assam at a time when the functional castes were still unknown in Bengal and that the word Kalita was originally applied to all Aryans who were not Brahmins. See paragraph 123 on caste government.

Kalin (2,031)—A sub-caste of Telis.

Kalwar (2,190)—A liquor-selling and trading caste of Behar. Their social status is low and Brahmins will not take water from their hands. 1,235 were enumerated on tea gardens.

Kamar (8) (43,255)—According to Risley the metal working caste of Bengal and Behar who are distinguished from the Lohars by not confining themselves to iron as the material of their art. In Bengal and Behar their water is taken by Brahmins. No less than 41,153 Kumars are employed on garden coconuts, but they are indigenous in Sylhet.

Kamli (1,335)—The blacksmith caste of Nepal. They are found in small numbers in nearly every district in the Province.

Kandh (5,138)—A Dravidian tribe of one of the tributary States of Orissa, famous for the systematic and brutal manner in which they used to sacrifice human beings to ensure successful harvests. 4,513 were enumerated on tea gardens.

Kandu (2,038)—A grain parching caste of Bengal and Bihar where they rank with Koiras and Goalies, as Brahmins take water from their hands. 1,374 were enumerated on tea gardens, mostly in the Surma Valley.

Kansari (392)—The brazier caste of Bengal. Their social position is respectable.

Kaura (340)—Swinchards they are a sub-caste of Hari.

Kapall (8)—(1,591)—A weaving caste who are practically confined to the Sylhet district. Their social position is low and Brahmins do not take their water.

Kapuria (111)—A gipsy caste from the United Provinces; they beg, steal, and deal in poisons; the women make baskets.

Kaur (1,456)—A caste, probably of Dravidian origin, who are found in the tributary States of Chota Nagpur; 834 were enumerated on tea gardens.

Kayastha (A) (31,907)—The writer caste, which is indigenous to Sylhet, and there are a certain number of genuine Brahmaputra Valley Kayasthas, though I am inclined to think that the considerable proportion of the so-called Kayasts are only Kalitas who have risen to the world. In the Brahmaputra Valley the Kayasthas are beginning to adopt the sacred thread, but wear it very hort; but this fashion has not yet spread to the Surma Valley and the Kayasthas do not attempt to pose as Kabertiahs, though occupying a good position in society. They inter-marry with Baidyas in the Surma Valley.

Kewat (9,777)—See under Kabertia. Kewats are practically confined to the Brahmaputra Valley and their number has increased largely for the reasons given in para-paragraph 120.

Khadai (4,006)—A few Orissa castes who work as labourers; they have been imported by tea gardens, which contain 3,259 of the total.

Khambu (2,251)—One of the fighting tribes of Nepal.

Khamti (B) (1,563)—A Shan tribe, who have settled in the country to the north and east of the Lakhimpur district.

Khandait (1,377)—A cultivating caste of Orissa, who have been brought to this province as coolies, 1,113 having been enumerated on tea gardens.

Khandilwal (120)—A trading caste similar to the Agares.

Kharia (12,477)—A Dravidian tribe of Chota Nagpur largely employed as coolies, 8,311 having been enumerated on tea gardens.

Kharwar (7,074)—A Dravidian tribe of Chota Nagpur employed as garden coolies; 4,161 were enumerated on tea estates.

Khatri (2,011)—One of the best of the fighting tribes of Nepal.

Khatri (H) (120,591)—The tribe who live the Khasi and Jaintia Hills with the Syriem Wars, Lyngpum, and other tribes. See Gordon's *Atlas*.

Khatik (137)—A low alitrading caste of Bihar who rank little higher than the Marwaris.

Khawandkar (114)—A tribe of Muhammadan tea bearers.

Khawai (100)—A tribe of Dimaks and Kewats; it is also the name of the tea caste of Nepal.

Khela (Khyan) (949)—A caste practically confined to Goalpara and Kamrup; they are not included with Kalitas in 1901; they sometimes marry Kauta women who they say are but Kalitas will not eat with them.

Kibhak (115)—A sea coast cast in Dacca, where they form small communities; they are not entitled to have been devout; they were almost all converted in Silsia or when they were captured by the tea gardens.

Kob (36)—This tribe was censused in Manipur it is a Shan tribe

Koch (B) (237,573)—According to Mr Gait, "the name in Assam is no longer that of a tribe, but rather of a Hindu caste into which all converts to Hinduism from the different tribes—Kachari, Garo, Hajong, Lalung, Mikir, etc., are admitted on conversion. In Assam, therefore, it seems, for the present at any rate, desirable to treat the Koch as allied to the Bodo, and through them as a branch of the Mongolian stock." They rank as a clean Sudra caste in the Upper Brahmaputra Valley and Brahmins will take water from their hands, but their position is not so good in the central and western districts, as in Sibsagar and Lakhimpur Animists who are converted to Hinduism retain their tribal names, and do not think it necessary to pretend to be Koches. There are various subdivisions of the Koch caste, through which the family of a convert passes in successive generations.

Koiri (14,000)—A cultivating caste of Bohor and Chota Nagpur. Their social position is respectable, and Brahmins will take water from their hands. In Assam they are employed as coolies, and 6,976 were censused on tea gardens.

Kol (3,898)—A generic term applied to Mundas, Oraons, Bhumijs and Kharias, 3,302 were enumerated on tea gardens.

Kora (3,839)—A Dravidian caste of earth-workers in Chota Nagpur and Western Bengal, their social position is very low, and in Chota Nagpur they are said to eat beef, pork, and fowls, 3,352 were censused on tea gardens.

Korwa (3,594)—A Dravidian tribe of Palimau. They have only recently entered the pale of Hinduism, though in Assam only a small number returned themselves as Animists, 2,763 were censused on tea gardens.

Kshattriya (H) (250,541)—This is the caste returned by practically all Manipuri Hindus. In 1901 they were shown under Khatri, which is the title of a mercantile caste of the Panjab. Their distribution has been discussed in paragraph 126. See Hodson's *Meithei*.

Kuki (H) (77,196)—A hill tribe akin to the Lushais, most of whose settlements are to be found in Cachar, Naga Hills and Manipur. The sub sections of the tribe are shown in an appendix to Table XIII.

Kumhar (A) (27,913)—The potter caste, which in Bengal is one of the members of the Nabaikhh. They are most numerous in Sylhet where 12,116 were censused, and Kamrup, where 7,411 were enumerated, but, as pointed out by Mr Gait, it is doubtful whether in the Brahmaputra Valley the Kumhars is not merely a Kalita who has taken to pottery, 2,705 Kumhars were censused on tea gardens.

Kureshi (S) (332)—A Muhammadan tribe in Sylhet, who trace their descent to Kureli of Mecca, one of the ancestors of Muhammad. The decrease in their numbers is presumably due to many of them having returned themselves as Sheikh.

Kurmi (24,520)—A large cultivating caste of Upper Indra, Bohor and Chota Nagpur. In Bohor the social status of the caste is respectable, but in Chota Nagpur they eat fowl and fish raw, and are much addicted to liquor, so that Brahmins do not take water at their hands. They are largely employed as coolies in Assam, and 11,518 were censused on tea gardens.

Kusiarai (S) (1,999)—The Kusiarai are a caste indigenous to Sylhet, who are said to be called after the river of that name, though the connection of ideas is far from clear. Their complexion is generally dark, and they are supposed to be descended from some hill tribe. They are indolent, pugnacious and well-to-do, and have increased by about 50 per cent since 1901.

Kw1 (3)—A Shan or Burmese tribe, three members of which were found in Manipur.

Lakher (3,647)—A section of Lushais ^{see Lieutenant Colonel's note at the end of this glossary} they were found only in Lushai Hill.

Lalbegi (469)—A sweeper caste.

Lalung (B) (39,219)—A tribe probably of Bodo origin, who inhabit the southern portion of the Nowgong district. Most of the tribal legends represent them as moving from the Khasi and Jaintia Hills to the plains, as they disapproved of the ruling of the Khasi chiefs that inheritance should go through the female. Another quaint tradition says that they originally lived near Dimapur, but fled into the Jaintia Hills to escape from the necessity of providing the Kachari king with a series of human milk every day, this being an article of diet to which he was much attached. The tribe is divided into a number of clans, whose names suggest a tribal origin, and all of which, except the Masoring, are exogamous. The Lalung religion is of the usual Animistic type and in the time of the Assam Rajas they are said to have sacrificed eight human victims annually to their god. They are now recovering from their decimation by kula-azat. The Deputy Commissioner reports that there is reason to believe that they are losing by conversion to Hinduism on account of the loss of their Koches.

Lushai (H) (80,425)—For an account of the Lushai tribes, see the Note by Lieutenant-Colonel Cole, I.A., appended to this chapter; their sub-sections are shown in an appendix to Table XIII.

Lyng ngam (H) (1,923)—A tribe in the west of the Khadi Hills, see Gordon's *Assam* 177 n.

Magh (169)—The popular designation of a group of Ind-Chinese tribes; 51 Maghs were censused in the Lushai Hills, the remainder were probably persons who had come from Chittagong to take service as cooks in European households.

Mahalis (B) (4,451)—A name taken by Kachari converts to Hinduism. I have amalgamated them with the Koches. 3,634 were censused in Darrang.

Mahara (S) (1,660)—A title used by Kacharis, whose traditional occupation is palki-bearing. Very few Maharas are found outside Sylhet, but a considerable number of the casts seem to have returned themselves simply as Kacharis; there is steady decrease in the number returned since 1891.

Mahesri (910)—A trading caste of Northern India closely allied to the Agarwals and Orwals; they were all censused in the Brahmaputra Valley.

Mahili (S) (3,774)—A Dravidian caste of labourers found in Chota Nagpur and Western Bengal. Their social position is low and they rank with the Banars and Dosalis; 5110 were censused on tea gardens.

Mahimal (S) (77,870)—A Muhammadan fisher caste of Sylhet and Cachar.

Mal (r 695)—A Dravidian cultivating caste of the Rajmahal hills in Bihar. They are employed as coolies in Assam, and 4,781 were censused on tea gardens. Their social position is low.

Mala (Bauria) (160)—Probably the same as Mal, according to Risley. 130 were censused on tea gardens.

Mall (A) (14,234)—Properly speaking this caste is employed on the preparation of garlands, and Bengal is included amongst the Nagaishis, but the Bhawmals of the Srima Valley claim the name. See under Bhawmali and paragraphs 186 and 187 above.

Mallah (4,600)—A title applied to boatmen of various castes, the majority of whom were censused in Goalpara. I have included 183 Gouris in the total.

Malo (S) (30,337)—A fisher caste indigenous to Sylhet, ranking below the Kalbaritis.

Mal Paharia (3,533)—A Dravidian tribe of the Sitali Parganas; 2,900 were censused on tea gardens.

Man (H) (260)—The Assamese name for Burmese or Shan, under which name the Manas were entered in 1891. The majority of Manas were found in Garo Hills, where they form a small colony left behind by the Burmese invaders when compelled to retire before our troops.

Mangar (7120)—One of the fighting castes of Nepal; they are most numerous in Khadi and Jaintia Hills, where there is a Gurkha regiment.

Manjhi (3,641)—A title used by boatmen and by Santals, Digalis, and numerous other castes; 1,251 Manjhis were censused on tea gardens.

Maratha (344)—A Deccan caste represented in the 11th Marathas, a wing of which was stationed at Dibrugarh.

Matak (B) (9,210)—The name formerly given to an old division of the upper Brahmaputra Valley living between the Non Dihing the Brahmaputra and the Southern hills, and thus including nearly the whole of the Lakhimpur district on the south bank. This tract of country was occupied by the followers of the Mounaris Ghansai who at the end of the 18th century had risen against the Ahom Raja and set up an independent ruler of their own. When the Sepoys began to raid upon them it was found that the Mounaris offered stern resistance to the other Assamese, and called them to consequence. Matak, or strong, and the name of the people was then applied to the country in which they lived. At the present day the term denotes either the cast or nationality. The majority of the Mataks are Abors, Chitavans and Doms; but there are a certain number of Kailitas, Kewats and Koches amongst them. All of these castes except the Doms, are said to be non-irrigated, fact which however the loosening of the restriction of roads in Assam. The very large increase in 1911 since 1901 is due to these castes not returning their real names, see Moran.

Maulik (Nalya) (4,277)—A Dravidian cast of Western Bengal and Mymensingh. They have returned themselves to India; but a Mauli will take water from their hand. 3,710 were censused on tea gardens.

Mayra (S) (2,183)—The coolie caste of Dimapur who are oligarchs in the Srima Valley. They are members of the Vaishnava and in Sylhet go by Brahmins, were at their price.

Nich (B) (94,000)—The Verhar apparently identified with the Kachari tribe but the name is practically confined to the Goalpara district see paragraph 186 and 187 above.

Miehtar (707)—A branch of Hani who remove slightly.

Midir (B) (105,077)—A tribe peculiar to the Brahmaputra Valley see paragraph 188 or and Stuck's *Assam* 178.

Miri (B) (7,791)—There can be little doubt that the Miris exclusively resided with the Ahoms that they were originally settled in the hills to the north-east of the Province and that they migrated to the plains to escape from the pressure of their more powerful neighbours. Like most of the hill tribes they live in houses built on boulders. They which are generally scattered throughout the hills. Each successive census has shown a very large increase in the number of the Miris so that it is evident that there is a continual migration from the hills.

Mishikuri (S) (9,4)—A national rather than a caste name levying a tax on a people geographically Muhammadan, who live by herding. The title is probably so called from that.

Mithmi (B) (271)—A tribe on the northern side of Lakhimpur supposed to be a branch of the Miarites or aborigines of Yunnan where they are known as Abas, and are closely allied to the Tibetans.

Moran (B) (1,405)—According to Mr Gutz, a distinct tribe, but the Lakhimpur officers describe them as an off-shoot of the Matak sect. The increase in their number since 1901 is due to castes of the Matak, or Moran sect, not returning their real names.

Moria (B) (1,582)—The descendants of Muhammad in prisoners taken captive when Turbuk was defeated and killed at Silghat in 1510 A.D. At the present day Moria seems to be almost synonymous with brazier. No Morias have returned themselves now as Hindus, on account of the efforts of Muhammadan preachers to lead them back. The majority were censused in Sibsagar and Darrang.

Muchi (13,697)—The leather dressing caste of Bengal. They were in all probability originally a branch of the Chamars, though they now profess to look upon the latter as a separate and inferior caste. The social position of Muchs is very low, 2,657 were censused on tea gardens.

Mudi (140)—A title used by Bunds, Bunglis, Koras and Oraons, 133 were found on tea gardens.

Mukhi (B) (2,718)—A small caste practically confined to Kamrup, whose traditional occupation is lime burning. It has been suggested that they are a sub caste of the Koch, but it is doubtful whether this view is correct.

Munda (91,268)—A Dravidian tribe of Chota Nagpur, largely employed as coolies, 53,109 were censused on tea gardens. The great majority of Mundas in Assam returned themselves as Hindus.

Muriyari (1,027)—Sud to be connected with the Mallabs or Kewats they come from the upper banks of the Ganges. 654 were censused on tea gardens.

Murmi (2,951)—A Nepalese caste, whose traditional occupation is cultivation, though a certain number are serving in the Military Police of the province.

Musahar (14,281)—A Dravidian cultivating caste of Behar connected with the Bhuiya. Their social status is very low, 8,581 were found on the tea estates of the province. The decrease in their numbers is probably due to more accurate enumeration.

Nadiyal (B) (68,350)—The fishing caste of the Brahmaputra Valley, who in occupation and status seem to correspond to the Jalya Kalbarttas of the Sarmi Valley. They are cleanly in their habits, and very particular in their observance of the Hindu religion. They strongly object to the use of the term Dom, as they are afraid of being confounded with the sweeper caste of Bengal. They are now shown separately from Doms and Patnis, though it seems probable that they are members of the Dom tribe, who emigrated to Assam before the Dom caste had been assigned the degrading functions performed by them in Bengal.

Naga (H) (220,033)—I have included under this general head the various Naga tribes found in the hills that bear their name and in North Cachar and Manipur. See Hodgson's *Naga Tribes of Manipur*. The details of the sub sections are given in an appendix to Table XIII.

Nagarchi (S) (3,588)—Muhammadans who act as drummers, 3,172 were censused in Sylhet and the rest in Cachar.

Naiya (3,940)—A small Dravidian caste of Bhagalpur, included with Maulib, q.v.

Namasudra (A) (172,758)—A fishing and boating caste, who according to Manu are sprung from the illicit intercourse of a Sudra man with a Brahman woman, and are thus the lowest of the low, but within the last ten years the Namasudras of Bengal have made great efforts to rise and have improved their position immensely. In deference to their wishes the old title Chandal or Charal has now been dropped, in the Brahmaputra Valley the latter name is as yet in vogue, but only about 12 per cent of the community were enumerated there, *vide* paragraph 126.

Napit (A) (30,865)—A clean Sudra caste of barbers, from whose hands Brahmins take water, which is included amongst the Nabasakh. Their services are indispensable to the orthodox Hindus, a fact which is said to make them somewhat independent in their manners. They are indigenous in Sylhet, but in the Assam Valley Napits generally belong to the Kalita caste.

Nat (A) (5,143)—The dancing caste of Bengal. Nat boys are in great requisition in Sylhet, in the Brahmaputra Valley the Nat is usually a Kalita.

Newar (1,777)—This is the name of a nationality rather than a caste and represents the inhabitants of Nepal prior to the Gurkha conquest of 1768.

Nikari (S) (1,631)—A Muhammadan caste of fishermen and fish sellers, practically confined to Sylhet.

Nora (B) (345)—A small Shan colony found in the Sibsagar district.

Nunia (14,358)—A Dravidian caste of Behar and Upper India, who come to this province to work as navvies they are not quite so numerous as in 1901, when there was a good deal of railway construction in progress.

Oraon (29,583)—A Dravidian tribe of Chota Nagpur, much in request as coolies. Their social status is very low, as they are most promiscuous feeders, 11,598 Oraons were censused on tea gardens.

Oswal (1,536)—A wealthy and respectable trading caste of Behar and Upper India. The great majority were censused in the Assam Valley, where they and the similar caste, Oswal and Saroogi, are known under the generic name of Kayah.

Pahari (150)—A name used by both Ghasis and Saroogis. As 124 Paharis were censused on the tea gardens, they probably belonged to the former caste.

Pan (Panika) (17,032)—A low weaving, basket-making and servile caste of Chota Nagpur and Orissa. Their social status is very low, as they eat beef and pork. Pans come to this province as coolies, 14,556 being enumerated on tea gardens.

Pasi (6,943)—A Dravidian caste of Behar employed chiefly in the Surma Valley as garden coolies.

Patia, Patial or Patikar (A) (4,190)—Patia is the name of the caste in the Brahmaputra Valley, where it is practically confined to Nowgong, and where their original occupation was mat-making, but they are said to have abandoned it for agriculture. Elsewhere the caste is known as Patial.

and is a functional name used by mat-makers in Sylhet, where they manufacture the well-known *silk-pets*, and in Goalpara.

Pator (1,003)—A title of Podi Tantis, Mal-Pahans and several other castes; 893 were censused on tea gardens.

Patwa (1,238)—Makers of silk strings and fringes; 820 were censused in Kamrup.

Phakial (B) (505)—A Shan tribe who migrated to the Lakhimpur district from Nagaland towards the end of the 18th century—the increase in their number since 1901 is probably due to more accurate enumeration.

Poroja (5,861)—A cultivating hill tribe from Vinagapatan Agency, Madras; they were almost all censused on tea gardens in Silvassa and Lakhimpur.

Rabha (B) (79,02)—See note by Mr. Fread Peters at the end of this chapter: I have included Todas (7,401) in the total.

Rajbandi (B) (133,08)—According to Mr. Galt, the Rajbandi is a Koch or Meek, who has assumed that title on conversion to Hinduism. 123,114 Rajbandis were censused in Goalpara. Like most persons who do not feel quite sure of their position, they are very particular in matters of etiquette and are keen advocates of infant marriage.

Rajbhar (3,495)—An up-country caste, employed chiefly in the孙谷 Valley as garden coolies.

Rajput (Ohhattari) (27,070)—The military and landholding castes of Northern India, who claim to be the modern representatives of the Kshatriyans.

Rajwar (3,334)—A Dravidian cultivating caste of Behar, Western Bengal and Chota Nagpur. They eat towels, but not beef and pork, and a claim to rank above the Baoris. 5,077 were censused on gardens.

Ramniar (Nimbar) (103)—A sub-caste of Banjars in Behar and United Provinces.

Rautia (4,845)—A cultivating caste of Chota Nagpur. 3,674 were enumerated on tea gardens.

Sadop (1,893)—A cultivating caste of Bengal, which is included in the Nababkhā; their increase since 1901 is due to Goelas returning themselves as Sadops.

Sahar (1,92)—An Animistic jungle tribe of Orissa; they were all censused on tea gardens and all except 8 in Lakhimpur.

Salyad (A) (14,010)—A branch of the Muhammadan community who claim descent from Ali, son-in-law of Muhammad. They occupy a good position in society, but it is doubtful if all who so return themselves have a claim to the title.

Salsi (B) (9,334)—A cultivating clan east of the Brahmaputra Valley, practically confined to Kamrup with small overflow in Darrang. A sub-division of the caste called the Pat Salsi rear the pet worm and the ordinary Salsi decline on this so-east to inter-marry with them.

Sannysad (314)—A general name for religious ascetics.

Santhal (60,008)—A large Dravidian tribe in great respect as garden coolies: see paragraph 127 for the apparent decrease in their numbers; 32,449 were censused on tea gardens.

Sarangi (1,103)—A mercantile caste of Upper India, allied to the Dewals and Agarwals. Only 48 were censused in the Barma Valley.

Sarki (377)—The cobbler caste of Nepal.

Sarnakar (S) (776)—The goldsmith caste of Bengal. 517 were censused in the Barma Valley. I have shown them separately from Sonar.

Savar (3,914)—A Dravidian tribe of Orissa, Chota Nagpur, Madras and the Central Provinces; 3,101 were censused on gardens.

Shaha (A) (33,240)—According to Basley a sub-caste of Sonars, who have given up their traditional occupation of selling wine and taken to other professions. They obtained the permission of Government to be shown as Shahas only, but this did not prevent the Sonar from returning themselves also as Shahas and the result is that I cannot guarantee that Liquor-sellers are not included in the total. This agitation was confined to the Barma Valley, where 37,101 of the total were found. In the Brahmaputra Valley the indigenous Shahas are known as Saars. In Sylhet many Shahas enjoy positions of wealth and influence and obtain both brides and bridegrooms amongst the higher castes, though the latter of course sink to the level of the caste into which they have married: see paragraph 73.

Shan (116)—Found in Lakhimpur represent Pahtial, Naxos or Altons.

Sheikh (A) (1,760,660)—The usual title of an Arabian Muhammadan, which has been adopted by the ordinary Muhammadans of the province.

Singpho (45)—A Shan tribe on the Lakhimpur frontier.

Solinamia (B) (12)—A small caste of Biharis, who rank above ordinary Ka-kangs. I am as much on the same level as the Biharis are Kachins Kochis. They are only found in Darrang.

Sonar (2,064)—The goldsmith caste of Bihar now how separated from Sarnakar; 942 were censused on tea gardens.

Subarnabanki (97)—A mercantile caste of Bengal.

Sudra (S) (119,51)—A generic name for Hindus below the three-twelve castes but in the name of a distinct caste of domestic servants of the higher castes. The great bulk of the Sudras are due to the concealment of the real caste names such as Kaliartta.

Sunari (2,610)—The bangle-dressing village caste who profit by the really very few; 2,114 were censused in the Brahmaputra Valley; 1,47 on tea gardens and 1,133 elsewhere.

Sunawar (6)—A cultivating tribe of Nagaland.

Surakiya (714)—A tribe of Biharis; 1,034 were censused in Sylhet.

Sutradhar (S) (1,297)—The carpenter caste of Bihar. They seem to include Carpenters and Sylhet.

Synteng (H) (42,145)—The inhabitants of the Jaintia Hills, who are closely allied to the Khasis see Gurdon's *Khasis*

Tanti (41,236)—The weaving caste of Bengal and Behar, in the latter their position as low 30,557 were censused on tea gardens

Teli (S) (38,757)—The oil-pressing caste who are indigenous in Sylhet, where 28,156 were censused. In Bengal the higher sub castes of Telis are included in the Nabasakh, but this is not the case in Behar, from which place the 5,749 Telis censused on the tea gardens have probably come

Telinga (9,181)—A name for Oriva sweepers, but probably they are Madras coolies 8,478 were enumerated on tea gardens

Thakuri (627)—A sub-caste of the Nepal Khans

Tipara (9,740)—The Tiparas are supposed to be a section of the great Bodo tribe Those censused in Sylhet are probably immigrants from the neighbouring hills or their descendants

Tiyar (590)—A fishing caste of Bengal

Tokar (A) (942)—A small agricultural caste of Kamrup and Darrang

Turaha (796)—A sub-caste of Kahars and Nnus

Turi (16,501)—A non-Aryan caste of Chota Nagpur, largely employed as coolies in Assam, 12,565 were censused on tea gardens

Turung (B) (541)—A settlement of Shans in the Sibsagar district, who entered the province about eighty years ago

Vaisya (B) (3,902)—A caste of Eastern Bengal, claiming to be the modern representatives of the Vaisyas of Maan. In Kamrup there is an indigenous caste of their name, who are cultivators and do not wear the sacred thread 3,830 were censused in the Brahmaputra Valley, almost all in Kamrup

War (H) (6,445)—A tribe inhabiting the southern slopes of Khasi and Jaintia Hills see Gurdon's *Khasis*

Yakha (153)—A small agricultural caste of Nepal

ETHNOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

I—THE LUSHAIS by Lieutenant-Colonel H. W. G. COLE, I.A., late Superintendent of Lushai Hills

A full note on this tribe by Lieutenant-Colonel J. Shakespeare, C.R.E., D.S.O., will be found at page 145 following of the Assam Census Report of 1901. The present

General description note deals only with matters not treated by Colonel Shakespeare and with any changes that have taken place in the last ten years. For the purpose of the present census the people have been divided into the following divisions—

(1) Lushais	(4) Hmûr	(7) Fan-ai
(2) Ralte	(5) Thado	(8) Lakhers
(3) Paité	(6) Poi	(9) Salos

The last of these divisions is not, strictly speaking, a clan, but the name of the principal ruling family of chiefs. It is doubtful whether it should have been included, but it will be useful as showing the growth or otherwise of this family and their descendants. The lines between these divisions are rapidly disappearing. It is tolerably certain that, with the exception of the Lakhers, the differences of language that hitherto existed between the Raltes, Paites, Pois, etc., will disappear in the course of the next generation or so, and that the Duhlian dialect of the Lushai language will become universal. As it is, in many Ralte and Poi villages the younger generation can only speak Lushai. This language has been adopted by the missionaries for the numerous educational and religious works that have been printed during the last ten years and all education is through its medium. Apart from the general tendency to drop the less common dialects and languages, which free intercourse following on Pax Britannica would in any case have produced, the adoption of the one dialect for literary purposes must have the eventual result of its becoming universal. The total absence of caste or anything akin to it is very remarkable, and there are no exogamous groups whatever, beyond the obvious prohibition of the marriage of first cousins. This prohibition does not, however, extend to chiefs, who not uncommonly marry their first cousins, the reason being that the supply of suitable brides is limited. The chiefs, as a rule, marry into their own family, in order to maintain the respect due to high birth. This is markedly the case among the Salos, but although a Salo will prefer a Salo bride, marriages outside the family are not uncommon and the danger of in-breeding is minimised. The woman, whatever her origin, becomes of her husband's family on marriage, and so do the children. It is doubtful whether there is a single pure bred Salo chief to be found in the hills. Even between the eight other clans marriages are common. In fact, with the single exception of the marriage of first cousins or those standing in nearest relationship, there is no bar whatever to both sexes of Lushais marrying anyone they please. The total absence of caste, the custom of unrestricted inter-marriage, the tendency to adopt one common dialect and the gradual spread of Christianity are all factors at work to dispense the clan ties, already weakened by other influences which it is unnecessary to detail. The one tie that remains is the 'Sukhu' or the domestic sacrificial ceremonies. It is only the members of the same family that are allowed to take part in those rites, and in that the family relies for mutual support and assistance on a maintenance of these ties, it is probable that they will continue. There has been no appreciable weakening of these rites or the limitations on the persons allowed collectively to perform them since the last census.

All cultivation is by jhumming. The process consists of felling tree or bamboo jungle, preferably the latter during the month of January to March. When thoroughly dry the clearance is fired and everything depends on a really good

System of cultivation. burn. Light rain is desirable after the burn to lay the ash, which may otherwise be blown way in the high winds common in March and April. After the ground has been cleared, sowings take place in May and June. All crops are sown indiscriminately over the whole jhum. The main crops are rice, maize, millet, cotton, cassava, sweet potatoes, cucumbers, melons and pumpkins and various kinds of pulses. Potatoes have recently been introduced with some degree of success, also chil. The present methods being so primitive, there is a considerable field for agricultural development, and it is probable that the material condition of the people will improve considerably in the course of the next decade.

Owing to the encouragement given by Government, about 3 per cent of the population have adopted wet rice cultivation in the limited areas to which it is suitable. The villages so colonizing are of course permanent. All other villages move periodically as soon as the new cultivable field falling within a radius of 5 miles is exhausted. The first step towards the establishment of a new village is the cutting of the jhums at the new site, and temporary hut is erected either at or near the jhum. Thus when the time comes for the move, a year's supplies are available near the new village site. This constant moving tends to a very low standard of comfort in household arrangements and produces the unfortunate characteristic of incapacity of continuity of effort. But the system of jhumming especially in rich bamboo forest, ensures bounteous crops, and I have seen areas of chil lying ungathered, because the owners had already gathered sufficient for all their requirements. With improvement in communications and the adoption of animal transport, which there are already indications, it is hoped that such waste may in due course become impossible.

There has been a very remarkable decrease in the size of villages since we took possession of the country. Large villages were necessary for self-protection when tribes

Villages and houses. were of common occurrence. The tendency for villages to put up is due to two main causes. The first and most important is the custom, which is referred to in greater detail under head Chief, for every chief to establish a separate village as soon as he can find; the second is the novelty of finding the largest villages the greatest the distance to the farms and the more frequent the removal of the village sites. Five or six miles is about the maximum distance that a family can jhum from the village. A village of 1,000 houses, and such villages were not unknown in days gone by would enclose all the available jhumming land in 4 or 5 years within this radius, when a new village would have to be established not nearer than 10 miles distant. On the other hand, hamlet of 20 houses surrounded by sufficient land for 200 houses can be a permanent. A jhum in bamboo jungle is ready game for clearing in about seven years' time and thus 30-house villages will always have 7 years' game ready for felling. We may therefore expect further decrease in the size of villages, but, on the other hand, they will become permanent and in course of time this will result in improved dwellings.

The whole country is split among various families of hereditary chiefs, of which the Sallos are by far the most important. Each chief is entirely independent, and

System of government and the constitution of Lushai society. The constitution of Lushai society has been fully described by Colonel Shakespeare. The decrease in the size of villages has led to an important modification of the custom under which the youngest son inherits his father's village and property. The *weakness* of this system of inheritance is that older sons established villages of their own on their marriage. In order to enable them to do so a certain number of headmen or Upas and also of the common people were told off to accompany the young chief and form the nucleus of a new village. When all the older sons had been established in this way it is not too farfetched to say that the youngest should inherit his father's village and property and on him rest the responsibility for his brother's support. But while that has been no tendency for chief families to decrease the average size of villages has been decreased by half and there are not enough houses to go round among the sons. Indeed, in some cases sons of the sons have been able to start separate village and it is obvious that under these circumstances inheritance should pass to the eldest son and this change has been readily accepted by the people.

There has been a remarkable adoption of goods of Europe, manifested in Every Lushai now

General appearance of the people. possesses a uniform and nearly all the young men have white shirts. Imported yarn are playing those locally made. I like fashion there is a tendency to lengthening the pattern or perhaps to below the knee and to decreasing the size of the opening over one thigh. Until now even trifles women are very careful not to show the breasts and after having blid. Imitation necklaces and beads, usually sold by Angami traders are replacing the genuine articles among the poorer people. The young men have an unfortunate tendency to adopt turbanes of European cut and the celluloid beads a coifur naast by a considerable sale. It need hardly be said that Lushai youth is a brilliant coloured blazer and straw hat with riband to match. Most depressing is a table except perhaps in the eyes of the village maidens. The large ear rings worn by all well-to-do women were of merely silver or ivory; imitations of bone and beads are now not uncommon. Some of the poorest women and those married to foreigners abroad they are altogether lost to the selling belt in the lot of the ear is not attractive. Baldness among the No chief is so common that it is hard to avoid the road less that it is produced artificially no chief will, however, bathe this, but I am told that it is produced by pulling out the hair and by this method I compare with other tribes of the Lushai have very little hair on the face or body. The hair is also yellowish red with pig fat and protected by wet earth by Lushai female and her children, which are not yet initiated to the bonds of the C. wages Test Chibup. The sort of number of youths wear a mohair, but even with red this lead dress is not a little tartan.

In spite of the sweating & washing hindrance is very rarely removed and the woman by pick marks is almost unknown. Braiding in either sex is very uncommon and when not it is set by

appear to be appreciated. The women are apprised by their capacity for hard work, and a stout pair of calves outweighs the flinching eye. The solid advantages of an assured position as the wife of a chief or a Government servant usually go far more than any sentiments' feelings.

There is a wide variation in skin colouring. I have seen skins almost as fair as those of Southern Europeans and as dark as those of the Dravidian races. The average skin is a light reddish brown. Ninety per cent of the children show Herr Breit's blue spots; these are usually found in the hollow of the back just above the posterior, some are quite small, while others extend right across the back of the body. There are marked gradations of colour, from dark indigo mole-like patches to a faint shading of bluish green, there is often a darker spot surrounded by a lighter shading. The spots usually disappear from children over one year of age.

Infant mortality is high, owing to the constant hard work the mothers have to perform. The new born child of a woman dying in child birth was formerly killed and buried with its mother, women being averse to suckling children other than own, such children, it was said, could never grow up healthy. These prejudices are disappearing as the fallacy of the theory is demonstrated. All children appear to be very well nourished. The mother's milk is supplemented by chewed cooked rice, which the mother passes from her own mouth to that of her child.

Although the Lushais are a small race and generally spare, the young men are well made and proportioned and capable of almost incredible feats of endurance covering 30 to 50 miles a day over rough mountain paths usually through dense jungle. On the other hand, they appear to be incapable of carrying heavy loads, and the custom is for two men always to turn out to carry the usual load of 30 seers.

The most remarkable characteristic is the extraordinary intelligence of the race and the capacity for requiring knowledge. Apart from what is learnt in the schools, considerable numbers learn how to read and write in their own language from some knowledgeable friend in the village. I have received a communication from a chieftain's daughter written in a way that would do credit to a board school training, and the only instruction she had received was from the village writer, whose knowledge appeared to be even less than her own. In another 20 years I believe that 50 per cent of the population will be able to read and write in their own language in English character. The language has no written character and is closely allied to Meitei or Manipuri.

All marriages are adult, and with few exceptions not earlier than 15 in both sexes. The customs have been fully described by Colonel Shakespear. The unmarried

Marriage customs girl's have considerable freedom. There are no penalties attaching to

interruption before marriage unless the girl becomes pregnant, or it takes place on the parental bed, the liability in both cases is the same, Rs. 40 or a full-grown mythian. Such misfortunes are no bar to subsequent matrimony. Divorce is very common and there is much looseness in sexual matters. Polygamy is uncommon except among chiefs, who usually have 2 or 3 concubines in addition to the principal wife. Polyandry is unknown. Matrimonial suits form more than half of the disputes that are settled by the chiefs or in our courts. Local custom is hard on the woman, who is regarded as a mere chattel. The children are always considered to be the father's except in cases of flagrant ill treatment or breach of custom. There is a deplorable tendency to throw off wives who have ceased to find favour, and a man will not hesitate to trump up a false case of adultery in order to provide himself with funds to purchase a new bride. In cases of misconduct on the wife's part the marriage price is returned, it is not paid to the bride, but to her parents and is in reality a deposit to ensure her fidelity. Objections have been raised by persons imperfectly acquainted with local conditions to this payment, but in the present loose state of the marital relations its abolition would result in uncheckered promiscuity. Both sexes are very affectionate towards their children, and it is but seldom that one sees a child struck and they rarely cry. But marital affection as we know it is rare and a couple who have lived together happily for years will part in a storm of mutual recrimination without the slightest demonstration of regret; all attempts at reconciliation are futile.

The first thing that strikes anyone visiting a Lushai village for the first time is the dirt. I have seen babes being washed, but both sexes are usually filthy until the

Village life age for courting. Unmarried youths and maidens are comparatively

clean until marriage. In some villages the young men are great dandies and bestow an infinity of care on their hair dressing and ornamentation; they wear snow white cloths with a broad central bar of scarlet, and their general appearance is distinctly attractive. The younger women, especially near our stations, dress well, but the home made punnen or petticoat is being gradually replaced by lengths of imported blue or black cloths. Generally speaking, the women do all the hard work, and from early morn till dusk they get practically no rest; the males, old and young, loaf about the village smoking the inevitable pipe. Both sexes are inveterate smokers from a very early age, and this may account partly for the short stature of the race.

Some attempt is being made to improve village sanitation. In addition to the other village officials, the priest, the blacksmith, and the crier, who receive baskets of rice of varying sizes for their services, there is now a sweeper to every fifty houses, and the village surroundings are cleaner and considerably sweeter in consequence. The water supplies are fenced and, when possible, selected so that they cannot be contaminated by the village drainage. Houses are constructed about 30 feet apart instead of almost touching each other and the intervening space utilised as a garden. In the few permanent villages fruit trees are grown to a limited extent, and there is a great demand for them. Village conditions have certainly improved in recent years, but there is a long road to travel before they can be brought up to the standard of adjoining districts.

All women are industrious weavers and make excellent cloths with very primitive implements. The different patterns of cloths were formerly strictly adhered to, and no one but a chief could wear a certain kind of blue cloth; another kind could only be worn by persons who had killed 3 or more methua for feasts. These distinctions are disappearing; the penalty of confiscating the cloth of a man who wore a pattern to which he was not entitled does not appear to be still enforced.

There is a growing tendency among the people to dispute the authority of the chiefs in spite of every effort of the part of the Government to maintain it. The chiefs especially the younger ones, are very largely guided by the advice of the upas or mantris although they are not bound by it. Village disputes are generally amicably decided, but there is an unfortunate propensity to trump up cases against people leaving the village. The chief realises small fees of Rs. 4 in cases against the public safety or small cases and the like but not in civil complaints. The money is usually expended on his upas. All petty cases are left for decision by the chiefs, who are bound however to report at once heinous offences and unnatural or accidental deaths.

The following report by M. A. D. Gordon, Assistant Superintendent of Police the local Superintendent of Census, is reproduced:—

During pregnancy two or more sacrifices are performed. The first is called Chhini and is performed in the early stages of pregnancy. It would seem to be a prayer to the gods for children in consists in killing a fowl with a stick. The claws, beak and tips of the wings are offered to the demons by a priest singing chant; the rest is cooked and eaten by the family. The subsequent sacrifices are known as Hri-Chhi and Nahri; the same rites are enacted, but the idea of these latter sacrifices is to procure the good health of the child and an easy delivery to the mother. The Lubalis assert that if the child in the womb moves on the right side of the mother it is male, and if on the left side, a female. Abortion is seldom if ever practised. A girl child is welcome because the parents will receive a substantial sum from her husband when she gets married, and this is always considered a source of income to assist the parents in their old age.

During pregnancy the father of the child will not cut open any animal that has been killed or cut off its limbs, for fear his child should be born without those limbs. He believes too that if he takes the flesh of any wild beast found dead, his child will be still-born. If he gives away any article of clothing to a man of distant village, the child's health will be permanently impaired. This custom is not actually observed among the Lo-hans, but the father avoids all hard work, as the performance of hard work by the father is considered to be injurious to the child's health. The name is usually given to a child by its grand parents, preferably the maternal grandfather; it is selected after the child is born. The name is generally chosen to recall some achievement of an ancestor as Balarama, the capturer of his enemy. No ceremony is performed beyond the general drinking of rice beer. Even still-born children are named, because without a name they cannot enter the spirit world.

Directly the child is born it is washed clean by the old women of the village and then put in a clean cloth and to its mother's breast. There is no ceremony connected with ear-piercing; when the child is about a week old, the parents pierce the ears with a porcupine quill; both sexes have their ears pierced. The lobe of the female ear is gradually enlarged from 10 years onwards, to allow of the wearing of the Bangie, a large circular piece of clay or ivory worn in the enlarged lobe sometimes as large as 2½ inches diameter. An adult who dies without having had his ears pierced has a porcupine quill buried with him. A still-born child or child dying in infancy is put in an earthen pot and buried in grave with an egg and a small quantity of rice mixed with some of its mother's milk. The egg is supposed to roll along in front of the child and show the way and the rice is food for the way to the spirit world. With adults a sacrifice is always performed but this is not done in the case of the funeral of an infant.

The husband and the relatives of woman dying in child birth perform the usual sacrifice to deities and soot, but the rest of the village treat the day as a holiday and put small green branch on the wall of each house on the outside near the doorpost to keep out the spirit of the dead woman. The child is washed generally by an aunt if possible. In former times if the child had no umbilical cord it, the father used to smother the child with the bed clothes and bury the corpse with the mother. The woman is generally brought to bed on the floor near the bed. All the female friends and relations come in to assist. It is optional for the husband to be present, any one who likes can be present. There are no restrictions on food taken before or after child birth.

To become a Thringelhruh, it is necessary that a man should have killed one of each of the following beasts in the chris. —an elephant, wild boar, sambhar, bear, barking deer, a certain black snake and a particular kind of hawk. Thring lhuhi may also be obtained in another way, by sacrificing two or three pigs, then a young mythan, then a full-grown male mythan, then a small mythan again and again a full grown male after this he must sacrifice three or four mythans at one time. These sacrifices may be spread out over his life on completing the last sacrifice, he becomes a Khuring chru, which is the equivalent of a Thringelhruh. The wife of a Thringelhruh is also entitled to Pinal. The former method of becoming a Thringelhruh is the more respected, and of such as one after death it is said that the snake coils round the ankles of the simhlin and the man sits on the coils of the snake, while the sambhar conveys him to Pinal and the hawk flies over his head to shade him from the rays of the sun. It might be mentioned that certain worldly advantages also accrue to a Thringelhruh he alone may wear a particular kind of striped cloth and turban and a feather plume he can build a verandah at the back of his house and make a window in the house he can also build an additional shelf near the bed.

II.—THE RABHAS by J. E. FRIEND-PEREIRA, Esq., late Subdivisional Officer, Goulparra

Description of the Rabhas The home of the Rabhas is in the narrow strip of jungle country that lies between the northern slopes of the Garo Hills and the Brahmaputra river in the district of Goulparra. In the section dealing with their history and traditions, the question whether the Rabhas are an autochthonous people has been touched on briefly. At the present moment they are found scattered all over the country, generally in little villages of their own, in the midst of Hindus, Muhammadans, Garos, and Kacharis.

In general appearance the Rabhas show all the characteristics of the Mongolian stock a round face, flat nose, prominent cheek bones, obliquely set eyes, sallow complexion, coarse hair, scanty beard, and well developed lower extremities. The men are not so coarse featured and so heavily built as the Garos. The women are slighter than the Garo women and in their youth are of a quite pre-adolescent looking. The Pati Rabhas, who dwell in the eastern parts, dress like the ordinary Assamese cultivators of the plains. The Rangdama, Maitoria, Nahuria, and Shongra women in the west wear a short kirtlo that reaches half way down to the knee like the Garos, but cover their bosom with a home made kerchief of some dark or striped cotton material. All the women adorn themselves with the usual ornaments worn by the Assamese, such as silver bangles on the wrists, silver necklaces consisting sometimes of rows of coins strung together by a thin silver chain, nose ornaments of gold, often studded with imitation diamonds or rubies, and gold or silver rings for the ears and fingers. The women of the Rangdama section also wear a silver ornament about two inches long and the thickness of a goose quill on the upper portion of the ear. This ornament, called a *bila*, resembles the *pata* of the women of some of the Garo tribes, with whom the Rabhas seem to bear an affinity. It is worn only on certain ceremonial occasions.

All the sections of the Rabhas are nominally Hindus, and unlike the Garos they will not touch the flesh of the cow, which they hold in reverence. But they show an merdinante fondness for the flesh of the pig, and swine are specially fattened for feasts and sacrifices. Goats and fowls too are reared in every house, as they are used for sacrifice as well as for food. The ordinary daily food of the Rabhas, however, consists of boiled rice, sometimes with boiled pulse, and a relish of fish or vegetable curry. Fish forms an important article of their diet and every Rabha house has its various instruments for catching fish. On a favourable day the men gather together from several villages and go long distances to fish in a particular piece of water. Almost every day the women and girls proceed after the mid-day meal to the nearest pool and scoop up with their fishing baskets or big nets several varieties of small fish from the shallow muddy water. The Rabhas will not touch milk in any shape, because, like all the other tribes of Mongolian origin, they consider it as an excrement. For a people living in the midst of the jungle, where all kinds of game abound, hunting forms an important factor in the lives of the Rabhas. Periodically the men sally forth with strips of strong netting, which they set up in localities where game has been seen, and deer and pig are driven into the meshes and caught and slaughtered. Sometimes a leopard or tiger becomes ensnared and is speared or clubbed to death.

From the old swords and rhinoceros hide shields in the possession of some families it would appear the Rabhas were at some former time a martial race and indulged in warfare. One of their traditions which gives a graphic description of a tribal fight is narrated in the last section of this note. That they offer fine material for our native army is apparent from the fact that they are freely enlisted with the Kacharis in the Gurkha Military Police Battalions and have rendered a good account of themselves in the expeditions on the north-eastern frontier. But the ordinary every-day occupation of the Rabhas is that of a peaceful cultivator of the soil. He is industrious in shaping his rice fields in the stiff alluvial clay formation or in cutting laboriously some eminence into a terraced field. But in the actual process of cultivation of the rice his methods are crude and his work negligent, his contents himself with the ploughing of the land and leaves the sowing and the reaping of the crops mostly to the women.

Like all the other Mongoloid tribes the Rabhas are simple and light hearted. When they have not come in contact with the more civilised races, they are fairly truthful and honest. They are faithful in their marital relations and they make affectionate and often over indulgent parents. Their only vice or, properly, failing, is their love for *choo* or home brewed rice beer, enormous quantities of which they consume without a thought of the serious depletion of the rice in the granaries, which forms their supply of food till the next harvest. They are a social and hospitable people and they spend a great deal of their leisure in gossip and amusement. Feasting and drinking form an important part of their social and religious life, and no expense is spared on the ceremonial occasions of rejoicing or worship of the deity.

The Pait Rabhas have lost their mother tongue and speak the Kamrup dialect of Assames. The Rangdams speak a language which is known locally as Rangdama Rabha. It belongs to the Bodo group of languages and bears

striking resemblance to the Atong dialect of the Garo language. This close affinity of the Rangdams and Atong dialects has been noticed by Major Playfair in his Monograph on the Garos. Although language is not a test of race still when two widely separated people like the Rangdams and Atongs are found speaking languages that bear a close resemblance to each other an inference can be drawn that the two tribes lived in contact with each other at some past period of time. This language relationship seems to corroborate the traditions of the Rangdams and Garos which are related in the last section of this paper. The Maitoria, Daberias, Shengas, and Koches have also each their own dialect, all of them being like the Rangdama dialect, members of the Bodo family. An account of the Bodo language will be found in the Linguistic Survey of India, Volume III, Part II, page 56. Some of the gospels have been rendered into Rangdama by a missionary of the American Baptist Mission of the Garo Hills, but no grammar or dictionary has been published as yet.

The Rabhas have been divided into the following sections—(1) Rangdama, (2) Pait, (3) Maitoria, social organisation, government, and laws. (4) Koch, (5) Daberia, (6) Rabha, (7) Shenga. It is doubtful however whether the Koch, Daberia, and Shengas are really members of the same tribe as the Rangdama, Pait, and Maitoria. The Raagsas are

found in the tract of country between Goalpara and Lakhimpur the seat of the Mechpara tributaries who are popularly supposed to be of Rabha origin. The Daberias, who have two subsections, live inter-spersed among the Rangdams, but have lower social position. The Patis live in the eastern portion of the country between Goalpara and Gauhati. They are the most advanced section of the tribe, for they have adopted Hindu customs and they have lost their mother tongue and speak part of the Assamese language. The Rabhas inhabit the hilly country to the south of Lakhimpur. In their habits and customs they resemble the Garos, but they have a status equal to that of the Handozas and Pitas. The Koches are found in the western and southern flanks of the Garo Hills, the Burmese in the Kamrup district, and the Shengas in the northern parts of the Goalpara district across the Brahmaputra river. It will be noticed the last three sections live outside of the tract of country which has been designated the home of the Rabhas.

Inter-marriage is allowed between the Rangdams, Patis and Maitorias. A man of any of these three sections may marry a woman of lower section on payment of a fine of Rs. 50 to Rs. 80 which is used in providing feast for the clan-people, who are supposed to have suffered degradation by such connection. A woman of any one of the higher sections may also marry into lower section, but in her case she sinks to the level of her husband's clan and she pays no penalty to her clan-people. Inter-marriage with people of another tribe, as Garos or Kacharis or Rajbansis is allowed on the same terms, a woman sinking to the level of her husband and man rising to the position of his wife.

Each of the sections consists of several sets or groups of families that trace their descent back to common ancestor. The following are some of the sets or *lars* of the Rangdams—(1) Tengting, (2) Brugding, (3) Pam, (4) Pamerung, (5) Churhong, (6) Hada, (7) Begu, (8) Daliboh, (9) Chebranga, (10) Gu. Some of the sept names are common to both the Rangdams and Patis, from which it seems as if they are merely local divisions of the same people. The local conditions have probably forced them into two more or less separate endogamous groups. The *lars* or septs are strictly exogamous groups, because being collections of families they are of the same blood and marriage within this *lar* is absolutely prohibited. Sometimes two or more *lars* form an exogamous group in themselves e.g. the Mengeling and the Pam *lars* of the Hada and the Begu *lars*, and intermarriage between the kindred *lars* cannot of course take place.

It is an interesting fact that the Rabhas seem to be in stage of transition from the matriarchal to the patriarchal form of family life. Descent is always traced in the female line and the bulk of inheritance always belongs to the mother. But inheritance always goes from father to son, and the ordinary Hindu law prohibiting females from succeeding to property prevails without any modification. That at some remote period of time the matriarchate was in full force appears from the story of Dadian in the section of traditions and history where Dadian the leader of the people is really the maternal uncle and natural guardian of Toba Rani, the heiress or queen of the tribe. Marriage between paternal cousins is prohibited among the Kacharis, even though the couple are members of two different *lars*; but a man may marry his sister's daughter or his mother's brother's daughter. The latter arrangement is not uncommon when a man has no son or only daughter and no son and his bi-sister's son, the former being the daughter-in-marriage.

Tribal organization is usual here among the Rabhas was probably weakened when the people came under the dominion of foreign kings in the plains of Goalpara. The rules, forming their domestic affections now similar to those prevalent by the Hindu caste system of the rest of India, unit families strikingly well. I witnessed that but few cases of serial marriages in a single instance, instances of two brothers marrying the sisters of several nests together is more common than rare.

The preliminary arrangements are made by the parents or the friends of the contracting parties but sometimes by the couple themselves. The preliminaries settled, the bridegroom's party goes to the house of the bride to fix the date of the marriage. The party provides itself with *dhupchaul*, mustard oil, and vermilion; the *dhupchaul* is offered to the prospective bride and is accepted by her unless she is opposed to the marriage. Her hair is then besmeared with oil, and vermilion is applied to her forehead and a date is fixed for the marriage. This completes the ceremony of betrothal. On the day fixed for the celebration of the marriage, the relations and friends of the bridegroom, both male and female, come to take the bride to her husband's home, and the marriage is performed in the house of the bridegroom when the bride arrives. A pair of fowls is sacrificed and a feast is given to the people with home-brewed *jonga* or *choko* (rice beer). The feasting is the essential and binding portion of the marriage ceremony.

Like the other Mongloid tribes the Rabhas marry after they reach the age of puberty. But infant marriage is becoming prevalent now, probably in imitation of the Hindus. Remarriage of widows is allowed, but a widow may not marry her late husband's elder brother; she may marry the younger brother, but she is not expected to do so. The marriage ceremony is almost the same as that of her first marriage, and the feasting of the people is the essential and binding portion of the ceremony. Divorce is permitted without any particular ceremony. When it takes place with the consent of both parties, no compensation is paid by each of the parties to the other. If a husband divorces his wife against her will, he has to pay her Rs 20 or Rs 3^{1/2} as compensation. A divorcee is at liberty to marry again any one she pleases. Polygamy is allowed if the first wife is childless or incapable of attending to household duties, but it is rarely indulged in.

The Rabhas are divided into endogamous groups and exogamous septs. The horror towards incestuous or consanguineous marriages is very pronounced. But since descent is traced in the female line, a man may marry his maternal uncle's daughter, and among some sections such a marriage takes place when the maternal uncle adopts his nephew as a *ghir janas* in preference to a stranger.

When a woman finds she is pregnant, a sacrifice has to be offered to Bai Ma-bai for the safe delivery of the expected child. No formal ceremony is performed to determine the sex of the unborn child by divination. But it is a popular belief that if the embryo is felt to move on the right side of

the womb, the child will be a boy, and if on the left a girl. As there is no custom of hypergamy, the birth of a female child is not considered a calamity, and consequently the practice of causing abortion after finding out by divination that the foetus is a girl is unknown. There is no trace whatever of the *courage* among the Rabhas.

Immediately after the birth of the child the midwife cuts the navel string with a piece of sharp bamboo and buries the placenta wrapped up in plantain leaf in the ground. A fortnight or a month after the birth of the child a feast is given and a pig is sacrificed for the name giving ceremony. This ceremony is the peculiar right of the old woman who acted as midwife and delivered the child and cut the navel string. She crushes some lucky herb in her hand and invokes blessings on the infant that he may have a long and prosperous life, be wise and happy, successful in his cultivation, and so on. The mother of the child selects the name and, very curiously, she is often influenced in her choice of name by some incident in her own life. For instance, if the child is a son, he is named after a rejected lover, and if a daughter after some rival. This custom sometimes leads to quarrels when men become talkative over their cups and rile up old grievances. A purification ceremony has to be performed when the navel string of the child drops. A woman is considered unclean after child birth until the purification ceremony after the navel string has dropped is performed. She does not, however, observe seclusion during this period of time, but she is not allowed to enter the kitchen or cook the food of the family.

There is a belief in the reincarnation of the dead, but no divination is performed in order to discover what relative has returned in the form of the newly born infant. If the child cries when it is scolded or beaten, the idea is that it is a reincarnation of a parent or elder brother or sister.

The Rabhas cremate the bodies of those who die from natural causes. In the case of a person dying of some epidemic disease or meeting with a violent death, the Death and funeral rites corpse is buried and not burnt. But any one killed by a tiger is given the benefit of a cremation instead of being disposed of by the lower form of burial. Shortly before the corpse is taken away for cremation, a libation of *choko* or rice beer is offered to the manes of all the *barat* by name, beginning with the Tengtung *barat*. The corpse is then carried to some convenient spot on the outskirts of the village and cremated in the same way as the Hindus cremate their dead. The ashes and fragments of bone are gathered together *in situ* and covered over with an earthen pot. A fence is built round the spot and a small thatched covering is erected over the funeral reliquary. At the four corners of the shed are planted long bamboo poles, on which cloth streamers flutter in the breeze. After the funeral obsequies the people return home and leave the mortal remains of the departed to return to dust by the agency of the elements.

Up to about 25 years ago, before kala-azar swept through the Rabha country and left depopulated villages in its track, the funeral rites of a well-to-do person were performed with great pomp and circumstance. After the cremation of the corpse the frontal bone was raked out of the embers by the son or other close relation and carried on the back, with much ceremonial dancing, to the Tura Hakar of the sept, and there was much feasting and drinking of rice beer, the Tura Hakar was a cave or hole in a rock where the bones and, sometimes also, the arms and accoutrements of the deceased were deposited, and each *barat* or sept had its own separate vault. Several of these disused tribal ossuaries are still seen in the northern slopes of the Garo Hills.*

* Lieutenant Colonel Gordon writes — Major Playfair, whom I consulted is doubtful about these tribal ossuaries. He says — 'I think he (Mr Ferreira) should verify this for I have never heard of them. Perhaps the author has seen some of the Garo stones (cf. 'The Garos,' pages 96-97) or sacrificial stones on the outskirts of the Garo Hills and has thought them to be cemeteries which they certainly are not. They are either like the Khasi Memorial stones, mere cenotaphs or else sacrificial stones. Major Playfair says — "The binding on of bones of cremated persons prior to a dance is a well known custom among some sections of the Garos (cf. 'The Garos,' page 112). The Rabhas' use of the bones at funerals is interesting, in confirmation of Major Playfair's statement."

The cremation over the relations return home and prepare a place in the house, by spreading a cloth over the floor for the purpose of recalling the spirit. Food and drink are placed on the cloth and the spirit is invited to partake of the collation prepared for it. After one or two months the ceremony is repeated, and the disembodied ghost is adjured not to haunt or frighten or harm the member of the family still in this life, or even to think of them but to do part for good. In the case of wealthy or influential persons about a year after the death, a feast is given with large quantities of home-brewed rice beer. After partaking of the feast, the men and women dance, and blessing the spirit of the deceased say "take thou birth again in a noble family of Rabhas; not among the trees or graves, lest thou perish by fire nor among the swine or poultry lest thou be killed and eaten by me, nor among the cattle, for thou shalt have to plough the field, nor among the insects or creeping things, for thou shall be eaten by birds and so on."

Although they take part in the popular Hindu religious festivals, like the Durga puja and Kali puja, the Rabhas are in reality pure Animists. Even their most

Religion.

In dated section, the Pati Rabhas, never represent their host of god and demon by images or plumes of smoke or other material objects. Their deities are pure spirits and are always conceived as such. The following are the principal deities—

Bai Ma-ka the creator conceived a benevolent and benevolent deity who does not require constant propitiation. He presides over health. He is worshipped in a clear place near water with the sacrifice of duck or a goat, but never a fowl or pig.

Bai Kha or Kekha B Caree or the goddess of crops who appears to be the principal deity of the Rabhas. Her worship is celebrated with great ceremony once a year in Sone-Bhadro and lasts for six days, during which there is much feasting and drinking of rice beer. The men go along with the animals they intend to slaughter and strong-brewed rice beer to the place of sacrifice, and in the evening their womenkind, dressed in their best clothes, meet them returning home with more jars of strong home-brew. The whole night is spent feasting and drunken revelry. There is a story how the goddess was drefted back with her former location with her husband Tima Bai in Athibari purgans Ilabragha and how she was returned to her present abode near Darmanag Hill at a place where three hills—Darma g Spa and Saleng—meet and where two streams, the Danni and Chital, unite their waters to form the Rungdang river. Sacrifice of big, fat gelded pigs is offered, so that there may be plentiful crops, copious rains, good health, and no earthquakes. Sometimes a second and smaller ceremony of worship is performed for a special object, as a suitable reef after a bad season. A big boar pig is sacrificed so that there may be a big heavy crop at the time I harvest. The worship of the goddess is in the hands of the four lests, namely the Rungdang who prepare the feast, the Pam, who offer the incense and other delectable articles, the P manang who supply the thing I jaded for worship and the Charebung who beat the *dsuk* or small gongs of bell-metal.

There is another Bai Bai in Bamandalang purana Mechpara; she is said to be the younger sister of Bai who of Darmanag and was driven away by the latter when she became a *dsuk* or witch. She is worshipped only by the Dahun section.

Hai g B tutelary deity of the village, who keeps way bolens, small-pox, and other epidemic diseases. She is worshipped in a convenient place in front of the village and the sacrifice offered is pig or 3 or 5 fowls.

Dai g B the god of health and wealth who is popularly supposed to walk on Darmanag Hill. At the time of the marriage feast, when a pig is slaughtered the first offering is always made to Darma g Bai in front of the house. A huge gelded pig is the proper sacrifice when the god is worshipped.

Tekar Bai, a demon, supposed to be produced from a human being, requires a sacrifice of a fowl or a pig in case of fever or pain in the stomach. If a fowl is offered, the sacrifice is performed inside the house, otherwise outside the house.

Biswali Bai, a Hindu deity, a fowl is offered as sacrifice in some out-of-the-way place when a person suffers from pain in the knee joints.

Singra Bai, a Garo deity, a fowl is sacrificed on the road to cure fever.

Lalos Bai, the Hindu Rakshas, a demon, is propitiated in the jungles a little distance from the house, because he is prone to eat people alive. A goat or a pig or, sometimes, even a cow is offered as sacrifice. After the great earthquake of 1897 the Rabhas of certain villages sacrificed a cow to the demon and observed great secrecy, not to offend the Hindu zamindars of Mechpara.

Khelaram Bai, a Hindu deity, a he goat is sacrificed with music and singing, and a general holiday is observed, when the first fruits are gathered.

Kali Bai, the Hindu goddess Kali, is worshipped with the sacrifice of a he-goat.

Mash Lakshmi Bai, the Hindu goddess Lakshmi, is worshipped with the sacrifice of two pigs in the cultivated fields.

In cases of illness or other calamities or when events show the deities are displeased, the Ojha or sooth-sayer is consulted. The Ojha carries out a process of divination by putting two grains of paddy in a cup of water which he stirs and allows to settle. If the two grains adhere to each other, the deity that presides over the particular department is offended and must be appeased with sacrifice.

The Rangdania Rabhas have a tradition that at an earl or period in their history they dwelt in the Garo Hills, and that after many conflicts with the Garo tribes they were finally driven down to the plains which they now occupy.

They say the cradle of their race was in Sumsang, which is the Garo name for the modern Someshwari river and the valley it waters before its descent into pargana Shushang in the district of Mymensingh. There is a quaint legend which relates that the Atongs (a section of the Garos) are the kinsmen of the Rangdanias, both of them being descendants of two sisters Sae Bonge and Bonge Kate. The elder sister married a Garo and was the mother of the Atong clan. But the younger one had a liaison with her own brother, and the guilty couple being driven away by their people became the progenitors of the Rangdania Rabhas. The counterpart of the tradition among the Garos is to the effect that when Husheng was chief of the powerful Atong clan, he brought the Rabhas into the Someshwari valley to till the land, because at that time the Garos, being nomads, were not acquainted with the more settled methods of husbandry. Afterwards, when the Brahmin minister of Husheng treacherously slew his master and seized the supreme power, a period of bloodshed and anarchy followed and the Rabhas were driven out of the valley. There appears to be some elements of truth in these traditions. The Atongs speak a dialect of Garo that has a closer affinity to the Rangdania language than to the other Garo dialects spoken in the hills that separate the Atongs on the south from the Rangdania on the north. The affinity of language between these two widely separated people substantiates the story that at some time in their history they lived in contact with each other. The Maharaja of Shushang Durgapur in the district of Mymensingh is a Brahmin nobleman who even now claims an ancient right to collect tribute from the Garos of the Someshwari valley. There can be no doubt that the Garo tradition refers to an ancestor of this Brahmin house.

The following tradition, which was taken down word for word as it was related by an old woman of the priestly family of the Rungdaug *barat*, contains in itself sufficient proof of the matriarchate having been in existence among the Rangdania Rabhas before they became a subject to the zamindars of Mechpara and Habraghat parganas —

Toba Rani was the niece of Dadan. Her daughter was Nodai. Nodai married Maru Khetri a hero whose mother was Lema Nakkin Kumurini; they assumed the sovereignty of the State. As they possessed enormous wealth, they collected no taxes from the people of their own tribe or of other tribes that were the subjects of their kingdom. All the neighbouring kings became envious of their immense wealth, and at last Kasi Raja, a king of the distant plains sent two emissaries, Basuri and Pasuri to Maru Khetri with a sinister motive. These two emissaries had a consultation between themselves about Dadan and they said "Let us walk proudly like men of other tribes and see whether they remain unmoved disguised as vendors of betel leaves and areca nuts, we shall approach Dadan and then he will be killed brutally and his body will be covered with blood." Saying this, they laughed maliciously. They proceeded on their way with the speed of lightning. And they met Nodai on the road and they accosted her without letting her know who they were. Then displaying false friendship towards her they said "dear sister lead us to your uncle Dadan, to whom we wish to sell our betel leaves and areca nuts. When they appeared before Dadan there being a large number of buyers, the whole stock of areca nuts was not sufficient to give one nut to each buyer. Then they making false homage to Dadan, said "dear uncle, our whole stock has been sold out and nothing remains to be sold to you" then they added "there is a rumour that Kasi Raja has come to know that you realise no tax from your indigenes as well as your foreign subjects and that you pass your time in great happiness, in the midst of all comforts in the way of eating and drinking, waking and sleeping on a bed as soft as whito as the froth of newly-drawn milk and you reign a king of immense wealth. We have come to know that he is likely to come and fight with you on Sunday or Monday. Do you possess courage manliness and sufficient strength to meet him?" Dadan replied "what shall I do? I shall have to perish with all my family." Saying this, he wept and sent for all his relations and friends they all came and asked him (saying), "Uncle what is the matter with you?" Dadan replied "Kasi Raja is coming against me, and I am not able to withstand him" then they replying said "your great valour and strength in arms will stand as a barrier of timber, and your soldiers will spread through the enemy like kites and will destroy them to a man." Dadan said "My dear kinsmen brothers and sisters, the enemy has surrounded me on all sides and I am unable to proceed any further" Saying this Dadan called his niece Nodai and said "proceed with your husband Maru Khetri taking bows and arrows in your hand, and with your great valour fall upon the enemy as speedily as kites. Then Maru Khetri took his bow shield sword and arrows in his hands and proceeded to the valley of Sipanala where he met the enemy. He took aim at Kasi Raja and said "let us see whether you or I will be the first to show the strength of arms" On seeing Maru Khetri Kasi Raja said contemptuously "dost thou think thou will be able to stand as a barricade of timber?" As soon as he said thus, Maru Khetri discharged an arrow which pierced Kasi Raja through the knee. Then Kasi Raja fell to the ground and died of the wound he had received, and his two emissaries began to lament loudly. Thus being victorious, Maru Khetri returned home in triumph.

Like many other people of a primitive stock, the Rabhas have a story of a serpent god. The legend, as it prevails among the Rangdanias, is to the effect that in ancient times, when they were an independent people, there dwelt in a cave a monster serpent. Nothing could appease the wrath of the python, not even offerings of silver and gold. Accordingly once every year the people went with solemn ceremony to the cave and offered a sacrifice of a boy and a girl to propitiate the deity.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.
Castes classified according to their traditional occupations.

Group and caste,	Strength Per cent. of total.	Group and caste,	Strength Per cent. of total.
	2		2
I. LANDHOLDERS	...	II. BARDS AND ASTROLOGERS	21
Balpat (Chauhan)	29	Gurbabban (Gosak)	20
Others	13		21
III. CULTIVATORS (EXCLUDING OWNERS OF SPECIAL PRODUCTS).	1,841	IV. WATERS	83
Ahoms	197	Kayastha	174
Bard	23		83
Bhar	14	V. MOUNTAINS, HUNTERS, DANCERS, MINERS AND JUNGLEMEN.	1
Bhuiya (Bhamaher)	67		1
Burha	23	VI. TRADERS AND PEDLARS	79
Chetiy	22	N. W. (Baw)	112
Gowd (Gow)	61	Others	81
K. buria Chaud (Mahasaya)	67		23
K. ha	223	VII. BANANAS	45
Kewat	68	Kapil	56
Koch	213	Others (Halja)	37
Kumri	28		3
Mall or Malabar	14	VIII. WATERMELONS	51
Rajbhonsa	123	Dhaka or Dholi	48
Others	80		51
IX. LABOURERS	76	X. WEAVING, CAMPING AND DIVING	241
Bard	41	Jogi	214
Manbar	14	Pas (Tribals)	19
Others	18	Turi	41
X. FISHERMEN AND HILL TRADERS	1,200	Others	36
Bhumi	38	XI. TAILORS	9
Garo	141		62
Ghata	15	XII. CARRIERS	17
Kachari	220	Barakbari	24
Khad	171	Others	16
Khasitinya (Madjper)	211		1
Khill	77	XIII. POTTERS	41
Lalung	29	Hira	63
La	18	Kumhar	34
Loktai	81		33
Mech	23	XIV. BLACKSMITHS	27
Mikir	103	Kumer	41
Miri	85	Others	11
Munda	91		8
Nara	220	XV. GOLD AND SILVERSMITHS	07
Orao	59		
Rabha	73	XVI. BAMBOO AND COFFEE PLANTERS	9
Reital	64		67
Synteng	45	XVII. COTTON-PLANTERS AND RICE-PLANTERS	15
Others	109		23
XVIII. GARDENERS AND DAIRY MEN	52		
Gwia	22		
Others	31		
XIX. FORTAINERS, BOAT MEN AND PALKI-BEARERS	519		
Kalbari	71		
K. tartia (Jalys)	65	XX. OIL REFINERS	41
Makhsimal	73	T. I. or T. II.	4
M. I.	23	Others	20
Medival	63		3
Namoraiya	172	XXI. TOWRY DRAWERS AND DISTILLERS	17
P. I.	311		17
Others	22	XXII. LEATHER WORKERS	75
XXIII. HUNTERS AND FOWLERS	7	Chetiy	54
	70	Others	14
XXIV. PATENTS AND DIVOTERS	151		
Devalkura	151	XXV. BAGNET MAKERS AND MAT-WEAVERS	61
Others	15	Tora	72
XXVI. GENE LOGGERS	1	Tora	5
	01	Others	17
			4

y.e. The figures bracketed before the group totals show the proportion per cent. of the total population represented by the group.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I—concluded

Group and caste	Strength (000's omitted)	Group and caste.		Strength (000's omitted)
		1	2	
33 EARTH, SALT, ETC., WORKERS AND QUARRIERS	10 26 15 4	36 SWEEPERS	...	42 60 35 7
Nudiyal		Bhunmali		
Others		Others		
34 DOMESTIC SERVANTS	119 168 119	37. OTHERS		1,912 2708 64
Sudra		Indian Christian		
35 VILLAGE WATCHMEN AND MEVIALS	10 14	Shekh		1,770 78
		Others		

A.B.—The figures italicised below the group totals show the proportion per milie of the total population represented by the group.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II
Variation in caste, tribe, etc., since 1871

Caste, tribe or race	Persons (000's omitted)					Percentage of variation—increase +, decrease —					Percentage of net varia- tion 1871 1911
	1911	1901	1891	1881	1871	1901 1911	1891 1901	1881 1891	1871 1881		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Ahom	197	178	154	179	129	+10·9	+15·9	-14·4	+39·0	+53·1	
Barui	25	18	23	4	16	+36·1	-18·1	+409·8	-71·8	+59·9	
Bauri	41	42	32	10	1	+3·5	+32·1	+224·3	+765·1	+3,793·3	
Bhar	14	13	6			+7·6	+107·6				
Bhunmali	35	42	51		2	-16·5	-17·3				+1,675·2
Bhuya	67	50	32	5	3	+34·7	+53·8	+516·8	+59·6	+1,939·3	
Bhumij	39	34	21	25	1	+12·9	+66·0	-18·9	+2,408·8	+3,713·0	
Bora	22	19	23	20	11	+10·8	-13·8	+10·1	+90·9	+100·3	
Brahman	126	109	97	119	108	+15·1	+12·8	-18·5	+12·4	+19·0	
Chamar	54	41	18		7	+24·2	+144·3	+1,996·0	-87·5	+693·6	
Chutiya	89	86	88	60	51	+3·1	-1·7	+45·6	+16·9	+72·5	
Dhoba (Dhola)	34	34	38	35	30	+7	-11·5	+7·9	+16·0	+11·5	
Dom*	31	See Nudiyal.									
Garo	144	128	120	112	15	+12·7	+6·9	+6·8	+637·7	+849·9	
Ghasi	15	13	9			+18·8	+38·7				
Goala	42	38	31	13	11	+10·3	+23·1	+138·8	+20·8	+201·9	
Gond (Gonr)	52	4	4			+1,055·3	+24·2				
Grahavipra (Ganak)	21	21	24	24		+4·6	-13·5	-0·7			
Hira ..	16	9	10			+87·9	-13·5				
Indian Christian	64	34	15	5	1	+90·0	+127·7	+170·2	+322·4	+4,837·1	
Jogi (Jugi)	169	161	178	173	162	+4·9	-9·3	+2·9	+6·6	+4·3	
Kachari	230	240	243	286	219	-4·1	-1·4	-15·0	+30·5	-4·9	
Kaitbarla (total)	191	209	211	140	222	-37·2	-0·9	+51·1	-37·2	-41·0	
“ Chasi (Mahishya)	65										
“ Jalya	45										
Kahita	222	203	223	254	179	+9·3	-8·8	-12·3	+41·8	+23·9	
Kamar	43	34	30	12	8	+28·3	+13·8	+153·4	+44·7	+48·2	
Kayastha	82	67	92	186	106	-5·7	-5·9	-50·2	+75·7	-22·4	

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—*contd. 1st*
Farm taxes—caste tribe etc., year 1871.

Caste, tribe or race.	Per cent (1871 omitted).					Percentage of variation—decrease + increase —				Percentage of variation, 1871-1872.	
	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876	1872-1873	1873-1874	1874-1875	1875-1876		
1	4	5	3	4	7	-1	-1	-1	-1	n	
Kewat	—	63	64	51	104	21	+477	-297	-126	+2221	+3078
Khasi	—	121	113	120	107	56	+42	-73	+151	+136	+275
Khadibrays (Manipuri)	251	231	72	40	33	+86	+2223	+789	+161	+6198	
Koch	—	213	222	211	230	213	+53	-144	+13	-303	-217
Kukhi (Total)...	—	77	63	19	11	8	+283	+1971	+736	+299	+278
Kumkar	—	28	17	24	18	36	+41	+52	+110	-494	-318
Kurmi	—	25	21	13	13	8	+179	+633	+04	+634	+2197
Leling	—	20	26	53	49	22	+104	-222	+100	+307	+123
Loi	—	16	4	—	—	+4032	—	—	—	—	
Lobhei (Total)	—	50	75	—	—	+23	+50,1412	—	—	—	
Mahimal	—	77	27	25	—	—	+1117	-371	—	—	
Makham (Mali)	—	14	8	1	40	29	+809	+6167	-878	+235	-628
Malo (Jhale)	—	20	19	20	1	+95	-75	+1,2578	—	—	
Mach	—	83	78	10	63	30	+203	+67	+213	+872	+2138
Mahrir	—	108	87	48	78	41	+303	-78	+218	+300	+737
Meri	—	58	47	37	26	11	+197	+818	+600	+852	+2187
Munda	—	91	61	45	19	+191	+748	+102	—	—	
Mulher	—	14	17	17	4	—	-112	+67	+338	—	
Nadiyal*	—	98	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Dew*	—	21	195	203	208	179	+76	-47	-12	+160	+171
Pain*	111	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Naga (Total)...	220	163	105	103	56	+332	+686	-33	+407	+2246	
Namashira	—	173	170	181	114	183	+17	-81	+440	+120	+113
Nephi	—	37	22	22	31	20	+111	-31	+46	+7	+208
Xenaya	—	14	17	7	9	—	-112	+1110	+217	—	
Orissa	—	29	21	18	—	+198	+313	—	—	+113-24	
Tua (Familia)	—	18	8	9	—	+123	-807	—	—	—	
Pain*	—	111	See Nadiyal	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Rabha (excluding Total)	79	74	76	67	61	+472	-32	+478	-81	+728	
Rajpuri	—	123	123	121	100	—	+108	-20	+163+193.370	+270.2118	
Rajpuri (Chaitri)	—	37	22	6	31	7	+218	+1715	-215	+87	+3741
Santal	—	23	23	23	7	—	-217	+2212	+2119	+3331	+81112
Ghata	—	81	81	83	87	—	+61	-13	-71	—	
Path	—	17	1,171	1,293	—	+165	+91	—	—	+4,61049	
B. Ira	—	110	45	7	9	+112	+812	—	—	+1,2124	
Salindhar	—	16	17	27	31	37	-82	+12	+155	-472	-67
Syndag	—	42	45	57	45	61	-151	-72	+87	+159	+422
Tanti	—	41	22	11	7	8	+199	+225	+67	+740	+2743
Tuis (Total)...	—	23	23	31	31	23	-01	+52	+312	-119	4417
Turi	—	17	12	8	—	—	+279	+50	—	—	+13 79

FOOT-NOTE TO SUBSIDIARY TABLE II TO CHAPTER XI

- Dhoba, 1901 and 1891, includes Dhobi
Bhuiya, 1901, includes Bhurinhar
Chamar, 1872, includes Muchi and Kural
Chutiya, 1901, includes Deori
Jugi, 1881, includes Katani
Kachari, 1881 and 1872, includes Sarania
Kaibartta, 1901, includes Halwa Das (1891 and 1881), Mahishya Vaishya (Kewat), Das and Sudra Das
" 1872, includes Jaliya.
Khasi, 1891 and 1881, includes Dyko and Lyngam
Koch, 1901, 1891 and 1881, includes Mahalia.
" 1891, includes Khyen.
" 1881, includes Madahi
Kshattriya (Manipuri), 1901, 1891 and 1872, includes Khatru
Lushai, 1901, includes Poi
Nadiyal, 1901, 1891, 1881 and 1872, includes Dom and Patni.
Rebha, 1901, 1891 and 1881, includes Totla.
Rajbansi, 1901, includes Paliya
Rajput, 1901, 1891, 1881 and 1872, includes Chattri

CHAPTER XII

OCCUPATION

180. The statistics concerning occupation are contained in Imperial Tables XV and XVI. The former is divided into four parts, of which—

A shows the details (i) in a provincial summary and separately for British territory and Manipur State and (ii) for each district.

B gives the subsidiary occupations of agriculturists, who are divided into (i) rent-receivers (landlords) (ii) rent payers (actual cultivators) and (iii) farm servants and field labourers.

D shows the distribution of occupations by religion.

E gives the statistics of the industrial census, which was independent of and in addition to, the ordinary census, in four parts—(i) provincial summary (ii) distribution by districts, (iii) race and caste of owners of factories, etc., (iv) race and caste of manager of factories, etc.

Part C, which was to show for certain mixed occupations the number of persons who returned each as their principal or subsidiary means of livelihood, was compiled, but the number of persons actually included was so small that the results were of no importance. The XVI shows the occupations of selected castes, tribes or races and has an appendix showing the reverse, i.e. the castes which follow particular occupations, including the castes of inmates of jails at the time of the census.

Attached to this chapter are ten subsidiary tables, which will be referred to in detail below. It need only be mentioned here that Subsidiary Table V shows the special statistics collected for employees in railways, post offices and telegraphs which are, like the special industrial statistics mentioned above, independent of the ordinary census figures.

181. Before we go on to consider the results contained in the statistical tables, it

New scheme of classification
is necessary to note that the present scheme of classification of occupations is now
Description. It is based on that drawn up by M. Bertillon and recommended for general adoption by the International Statistical Institute in order to facilitate a comparison of the occupation statistics of different countries. The reasons for changing the scheme hitherto used in India are that (i) the Indian scheme was too elaborate containing no less than 50 groups, while the entries in the schedules are not sufficiently precise to secure accuracy of distribution into such minute divisions, (ii) M. Bertillon's scheme is simple and elastic and can easily be adapted to India's requirements, and (iii) without it we are deprived of the advantage of a comparison with other countries. The main objection to a change is that we run the risk of being unable to discover the differences in the conditions of the present and past censuses but, as it is possible to re-arrange most of the statistics of the previous census on the lines of the new scheme this objection was not considered strong enough to outweigh the obvious advantages of the new scheme. Hence the Census Commissioner decided, after consulting the Provincial Superintendents of Census, to adopt M. Bertillon's classification with such slight modifications as were necessary to suit local conditions.

M. Bertillon divides all occupations into 4 main classes, 12 sub-classes and 61 orders, which are further distributed into 206 sub-orders and 110 groups but for international comparison it is necessary only to divide into 61 orders minor heads being adapted to local requirements provided that the occupations returned are properly classified under these orders. The eventual result following this scheme in

India is that we have now 4 classes, 12 sub-classes, 55 orders, and only 169 groups in comparison with 520 groups at the last census the classes and sub-classes are as follows —

A — Production of raw materials	{ I — Exploitation of the surface of the earth II — Extraction of minerals
B — Preparation and supply of material substances	{ III — Industry IV — Transport V — Trade
C — Public administration and liberal arts	{ VI — Public force VII — Public administration VIII — Professions and liberal arts IX — Persons living on their income.
D — Miscellaneous	{ X — Domestic service XI — Insufficiently-described occupations XII — Unproductive

There are some differences regarding the orders under which groups are classed between M. Bertillon's scheme and that now adopted for India, which are given here-with it will be noted that they are slight and unimportant, except the first —

- (1) Non-cultivating agricultural landowners are shown here under order Pasture and Agriculture, which is included in sub class I, while M. Bertillon shows them under his order 54—Persons living principally on their incomes, sub-class IX. This was done because (i) in India landholders who cultivate themselves and those who sublet to others are not mutually exclusive, and (ii) it is most important to know how many persons are dependent on agriculture, directly or indirectly
- (2) In Bertillon's scheme carpenters are put in his order 16—Building industries, while sawyers, boxmakers, wood-turners, etc., are included in order 9—Wood, but in India it is impossible to separate these occupations and they are all classed under Wood
- (3) In India dealers in cattle are more appropriately included under Trade in means of transport than in Other trade in food stuffs, as in Bertillon's scheme
- (4) In the latter magistrates of all kinds come under order 50—Law in sub-class VIII, while in India they must come under Public Administration, sub-class VII

132 The reduction from 520 groups to 169, which has thus been made possible, would have been greater still, but that some of the old

(ii) Main principles

Indian groups had to be subdivided in order to preserve the distinction made between Industry and Trade persons who make an article are classed under Industry, whether they sell direct to the consumer or through a middleman, but those who sell only and do not make come under Trade. In order thoroughly to grasp the present scheme, it is desirable to understand the general principles underlying the classification of occupations as returned, which are exemplified here-with —

(1) Where a person both makes and sells, he is classed as a maker similarly, when a person extracts sulphur, etc., from the ground and also refines, he is shown under Extraction of minerals

(2) Industrial and trading occupations are divided according to—

- (a) the material worked in,
- (b) the use which they serve

Generally makers or sellers of articles the use of which is not finally determined come under (a), which also includes certain articles that cannot be placed under (b), e.g., shoemakers come under the latter, but makers of waterbags, leather portmanteaux, etc., are included in the former. In the few cases where the material used is more characteristic of the occupation than the article, the classification is according to the former, e.g., the makers of *jhampis*, bamboo and leaf hats or umbrellas, are shown under order 8—Wood, in the group for basket makers and other industries of woody material, including leaves in the same group are included makers of bamboo stools or *muras* and of *ras* for looms, etc.

(3) Employés in railway carriage factories are included, under order 22—Transport by rail, in railway employés of all kinds other than construction coolies, because in India such factories are worked direct by the railways they are not shown under order 16—Construction of means of transport

(4) Railway police and railway doctors come under order 44—Police and order 48—Medicine respectively, because their duty is concerned with these orders the fact that they are paid by the railway is mere accident, which does not affect the nature of their work

Generally when an occupation involves special training, e.g., that of a doctor engineer or surveyor it comes under the group reserved for that occupation except when it implies further specialization, e.g., a marine engineer and a river surveyor come under order 20—Transport by water the former in the group for ship-owners and their employees, and the latter in the group for persons employed on the maintenance of streams, rivers, and canals. Similarly under order 45—Public Administration, are shown only such Government servants as are engaged in general administration, including judicial, but members of the medical, veterinary, post-office and other similar departments are classed under the heads of their occupations. The main point to look to is the actual occupation, and not the source of income or the ultimate object which the occupation serves. Persons temporarily out of employment are shown under the occupation previously followed by them.

133 Having grasped the principles underlying the classification of occupation (a) what the tables show as returned, we must understand how the statistics are represented in the tables. Table XV A classes persons according to their *principal* occupations and shows also the number who are partly dependent on agriculture. Table XV B shows the subsidiary occupations of agriculturalist. Table XV C which is based on the special industrial census, is different from the other parts of the Table in looking to the industry and not the actual occupation of the individual, e.g., an engineer on a tea garden is included with tea-garden employees.

134 Errors may arise at the time of enumeration or during compilation. The Accuracy of the figures. Instructions for filling up the schedules were precise and there is no doubt that ratio of accuracy is much higher when the entries are made by trained enumerators, as in India than when the householders themselves fill up the columns. In previous Indian censuses mistakes have been made by the enumerators mainly in (1) confusing the traditional and the actual occupation and (2) using vague terms such as service, clerk, contractor, shopkeeper etc. In Assam there are not many cases of real traditional occupations and this source of error is reduced to a minimum : the second kind of mistake will never be entirely avoided but I believe that it is diminished progressively at each successive census. There remains the question as to how far the enumerator correctly distinguished between workers and dependents. The rule in the Code runs as follows—

Only those women and children will be shown as workers who help to augment the family income. A woman who looks after her house and cooks the food is not a worker but dependent. But a woman who collects and sells firewood or cowherd is thereby adding to the family income and should be shown as worker. So also a woman who regularly assists her husband in his work (e.g. the wife of a potter who fetches the clay from which he makes his pots), but not one who merely render little occasional help. A boy who sometimes looks after his father's cattle is a dependent, but one who is a regular cowherd should be recorded as such in column 9. Boys at school or college should be entered as dependents. Dependents on a joint family the members of which follow different avocations should be entered in column 11 under the occupation of the principal working member. Care must be taken to make entries in column 11 to ensure that the occupation of the person who actually supports the dependent is correctly given. A person temporarily visiting the house in which he or she is enumerated may not necessarily be dependent on the head of that house; the correct occupation of the next worker on whom such person depends must be ascertained. Domestic servants must be entered as such in column 9 and not in column 11 as dependents on their master's occupation.

I have referred in detail in the Administrative volume of this report to the criticisms on the above instructions, the main difficulty from our present point of view arose in case of adult sons of cultivators and wives who helped in cultivation. The instructions w.r.t. cultivation should be shown as payers of revenue or rent (bar or khaas). In temporarily-settled and permanently-settled districts, respectively i.e.: the enumerator could quite understand that the grown-up son in such cases was a cultivator but he could not see why either the son or the wife should be shown as paying revenue or rent when it was the father who did this. Every effort was made to remove this mental difficulty which was discovered at the very beginning and enumerators were allowed to write cultivate land with the addition of rent or revenue-payer. In brackets the result is, I think, that agricultural workers and dependents were on the whole pretty clearly divided but in Dangs Hills, owing to a mistake in the order issued from my office which unfortunately was not discovered until compilation had begun adult women were to be shown as dependents, though the Deputy Commissioner subsequently reported that, in his opinion almost all women and all children above 12 to 15 should be shown as workers.

Errors in compilation arise from careless copying and sorting and posting of entries in the sorting tables and compilation registers, and wrong classification. Taking them all round, the occupation entries in the slips were wonderfully precise and in many

cases quite long, so that there was little chance of error on this head. I am also satisfied that the sorting was well and carefully done, as it was very early discovered that the only way to ensure accuracy was to insist on a separate sorting for every individual entry, however similar numbers of them were, in fact or in appearance, so far was this carried in the Gauhati office, where most of the Assam slips were sorted, that the following entries, which all mean begging, were distinguished—*magi khai*, *khui khai*, *bhulsha lritt*, *maganiya* and *bhikshari*. I should not claim as great accuracy for the returns of Sylhet, Cachar, and Lushai Hills, which were sorted in the central office at Chittagong, but I am satisfied that the work was very carefully done. In compiling there were two stages first, the group numbers were entered by a special staff on the sorters' tickets, then, after these were passed as correct, totals of each group were worked out on classification sheets, of which there was one for each ticket, finally, when these were checked and passed, the entries were posted in compilation registers for each district. Special efforts were made to ensure a proper check at each of these stages, and in the Gauhati office the Deputy Superintendent himself checked again every classification sheet after the work had been passed in the ordinary course. During the progress of classification all doubtful entries were referred to me, and the orders passed were communicated to the other central offices if the entry was vague and might give rise to different interpretations according to locality, the District Officers were consulted. I think that this work, on the whole, is as accurate as it could be anywhere.

The simplification of the scheme was, of course, a great help and in itself should be sufficient to ensure greater accuracy than in 1901, when an attempt was made to distinguish between workers in factories and workers at home and between superior and inferior staffs. But there were still difficulties regarding mixed occupations which might be included in two groups and also those which, though very similar, have been differentiated in order to comply with Bertillon's scheme, e.g., labourers on roads and railways. For example, I placed settlement establishments, supervisor kanungos, and mauzadaris in group 3—Agents, etc., of landed estates, clerks, rent-collectors, etc., because their main object is the correct assessment and collection of land revenue, but it was difficult to know where to place mandals, and, in view of the fact that in the rest of India they are regarded as village officials, I placed them in group 147. Butterfly-collectors were included in group 8, pipers in group 139 because they exist here only in the Gurkha regiments, employés in rubber plantations went into group 7, if they were under the Forest Department, and into group 5, if they were private, a steamer laskar belonged to group 95, but a laskar in Garo Hills to group 147, a saodagar, who strictly is only a merchant, is a dealer in elephants in Assam. Monohari shopkeepers I placed in group 132, and those selling what was described as *qelamal* went under groups 117 and 135 according to the District Officers' reports. There were a number of rather strange entries such as thief, story-teller (Manipur), and *morabotola* or vagrants in Kachari villages who steal utensils from graves, while one was reminded of earthquakes by a seismograph clerk and of our recent progress by the appearance of motor-car mechanics.

Finally, it must not be forgotten that our returns refer to the conditions in existence on a single day, which would affect the statistics of seasonal occupations such as jute-pressing, but Assam is not much affected in this way because factories are few, and though tea manufacture had not begun in March, the full number of coolies were employed on the gardens.

135 We have already seen in paragraph 18 that the urban population of Assam

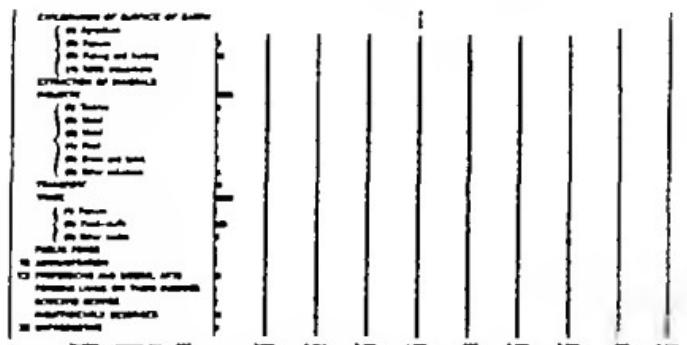
General distribution of occupations

is extremely small, amounting to 30 only per 1,000, consequently it is no matter of surprise to find that the great majority of the people are dependent on agriculture.

Subsidiary Table I shows that out of 10,000 of the population no less than 8,761 come under the first class—Production of raw materials, of whom 8,752 are engaged in exploitation of the surface of the earth, of the latter 8,609 are supported by pasture and agriculture and 143 by fishing and hunting. Over 75 per cent of the people are dependent on ordinary cultivation, nearly 10 per cent on the growing of special products, of which tea is practically the sole representative, 67 in 10,000 raise farm stock and 6 are dependent on forestry the addition of 9, the proportion who extract minerals, makes up the total of the first class. The remaining 1,239 of each 10,000 of the population are distributed between the other three classes as follows—Preparation and supply of material substances—762, Public administration and liberal arts—184, and Miscellaneous—293.

The diagram in the margin shows the means of support of 10,000 persons in the province by sub-classes and certain important groups. Agriculture pure and simple including the growing of special products, accounts for 8,536 persons.

Extraction of minerals is confined to



the coal mines of Lakhimpur and to the lime quarries on the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills. Industry absorbs a little over 3 per cent of the population, textiles are apparently the most important, but the figures are exaggerated now as in 1901, by the fact that large numbers of women in Manipur State have been shown as working weavers (vide group 22 in Table XV A) though the real fact is that they weave as good housewives, and not for sale. Industries of dress and toilet loom large, but they include washermen and barbers, shoemakers and tailors, and hence on examination are not so important as they seem at first sight. Wood is the next important industry as might be expected in a province with extensive areas under forest, which give employment to large numbers of sawyers, basket makers and makers of articles partly wood and partly leaves, such as *shampis* and of mats are included. There is a large drop to food industries which include rice-pounders, bakers, grain-parchers and sweetmeat makers—the ordinary population of any bazaar. Transport includes water road, rail, post office, and telegraphs, but supports only 100 out of 10,000. The proportion shown under Trade is higher than that under any other sub-class, but no less than 231 persons out of a total of 3,160 sell food stuffs, of which much the most important are sellers of fish, who are followed by grocers and sellers of oil, salt, etc. by dealers in grain and by sellers of hotel and a few other articles. Whilo dealers in piece-goods form the majority of the textile traders. The rest of the sub-classes are not very important. Professions and liberal arts were returned by 139 persons in every 10,000 and are represented by priests, lawyers, medical practitioners of all sorts, teachers and a few miscellaneous and unimportant occupations. The proportion of occupations insufficiently described is 134 and includes such general terms as unpecified contractors, shopkeepers, clerk mechanics, and labourers. Lastly the unproductive form 1 per cent of the community and consists of inmates of jails, asylums and hospitals, beggars, vagrants and prostitutes.

188 Subsidiary Table II shows the distribution of 1,000 persons in each natural division according to the occupations by which they are supported.

Distribution by locality Beginning with the first-class production of raw materials, we see that the Brahmaputra Valley is most dependent on this source and follows well in order by the Surma Valley and the Hills. A cursory examination of the sub-class figures will show that the Surma Valley excels generally in industry, trade and the professions. The apparent pre-eminence of the Hills in industry is due to deceptive returns of the miners of tin in Manipur State, as has been explained above.

Taking first ordinary agriculture we find the lowest proportion in the Brahmaputra Valley, but an examination of the detailed groups will show that it contains a much better proportion of ordinary cultivators than the Surma Valley where land lords and farm labourers account for considerable numbers. The Hill has the highest proportion of tillers of the soil. In pecked product the predominance of tea in the Brahmaputra Valley account for 131 persons in 10,000 but that it is a most important source of livelihood in the Surma Valley is shown by the fact that the proportion supported by it is as much as two-thirds of that in the other valley; the only competitor with tea is the growing of rice—rice acreage and tea leaves in the Khasi Hills. The contrast in the area of pasture in the Hill and the Brahmaputra Valley accounts for the comparatively high proportion of herders in those two

divisions, while the wide expanses of water in the Surma Valley produce there the largest number of fishermen.

Coming to the next class, we see that the Surma Valley really stands first in industry and trade, and it owes this superiority to the high proportion under the heads (1) wood and (2) industries of dress and toilet The latter is easily accounted for by the large number of washermen, barbers etc, but the former is at first sight surprising when we consider the large areas of forest in the Brahmaputra Valley A further examination of the statistics will show that the sawyers, carpenters, etc, of the Surma Valley are local people and have large numbers of dependents, while in the Brahmaputra Valley, though the workers are only slightly fewer, their dependents are only about half the number of those in the Surma Valley—a result which points to their being foreigners, which we already know to be a fact, Nepal supplying most of the labour force of the Forest Department The Siuri Valley probably contains a much larger number of carpenters as distinguished from sawyers, but the mat-making industry of the Surma Valley, from which the well known *sitalpati* comes, goes much more to swell the high proportion under the head "wood" In transport the Brahmaputra Valley stands first this is probably due to the fact that there are long distances by road from the main means of communication, the Brahmaputra and the railway, to the tea gardens, which depend also on road transport for a considerable portion of their food supplies whereas in the Surma Valley the tea gardens are within easy distances by boat of the steamer or railway stations, but in any case transport by boat employs fewer men than transport by bullock cart The Surma Valley is again first in trade, but, as explained, the majority of those supported come under trade in food stuffs, of which fish-selling in Sylhet accounts for a very high proportion, there being in this district no less than 32,172 dependents to 8,759 male and 2,121 female workers under this head the grocers, etc, of the Surma Valley are, like the sawyers, etc, local people, while the small number of dependents proves them to be foreigners in the Brahmaputra Valley On the other hand, sellers of milk, butter, ghee, etc, are much more numerous in the latter but most of them are Nepalese, while sellers of arecanut and betel-leaf are much more numerous in the Siuri Valley It is curious that the Hills should be pre-eminent for trade of textiles, but the high proportion is due to the large number of women shown under this head in Manipur I find that while the number of female cotton weavers in Manipur has risen from 17,758 in 1901 to 35,890 in 1911, female dealers in piece-goods and cotton textiles have grown from 994 to 2,508 I am not sure whether this growth is real or due to more accurate enumeration, but as the gentler is the business sex in Manipur, it is not improbable the number of saleswomen is now more approximately correct

The high proportion under public administration and liberal arts in the Siuma Valley is due to the large number of the followers of the professions, as indicated above this is the result of the great development there of the orato system, which implies more priests, of the existence of more purely functional high castes, of more advanced education, and of the need for a large number of lawyers amongst the population of an extensive permanently-settled district like Sylhet. That the public force is strongest in the Hills is a matter of no surprise, because they contain nearly the whole military strength of the province, including the battalions of Military Police, but that the proportion of those supported by liberal arts and professions should be greater than that in the Brahmaputra Valley is curious. On a detailed examination it will appear that this accounted for (1) by those returned under group 15S—Architects, surveyors, engineers, and then employés in the Khasi Hills, where the Survey Offices, Provincial and Imperial, at Shillong, are represented, and (2) by the large number shown in Manipur under group 15J—Temple, burial, or burning ground service, pilgrim conductors, etc. The Political Agent explains that since the Raja's installation temple services have increased greatly, and the increase in prosperity and in facilities of travel has made pilgrimages very popular in 1901 there were only 254 workers and 298 dependents under the latter head against 1,223 workers and 1,845 dependents now. There is not much to say about the last class—Miscellaneous. It is perhaps only natural to find the Hills first in insufficiently described occupations the proportions of those supported by domestic service are the same in both valleys, which agree also in their share of the unproductive, who are more than five times as numerous as they are among the more unsophisticated population of the Hills.

137 Subsidiary Table III shows the distribution of the agricultural population by districts, Table IV shows, by natural divisions, occupations combined with agriculture, where the latter is no subsidiary source of subsistence, and Table V shows for the province occupations combined with agriculture, where the latter is the principal occupation.

In the province as a whole no less than 841 persons per millo are supported by agriculture this proportion refers to those who have returned agriculture as their principal source of livelihood if we add half of those who combine it with other occupations and the estimated number of their dependents, the proportion rises to 871 in 1801 the total number of the partial agriculturists was added, but if we make the same calculation as now the proportion then was 810. This is a very large increase in ten years, but it is extremely probable that when agriculture is combined with some other means of livelihood, it is returned as the principal occupation not because it always is so, but because it is considered the more respectable. Indeed the increase now appearing may be due to other occupations becoming more common, with the result that agriculture is returned by more people, because its stability and respectability in comparison with other occupations are more obvious. The Brahmaputra Valley stands first with 877 and the Surma Valley last with 832 per millo primarily dependent on this source. The proportion in the Hills would have been much higher but for the comparatively low figures returned from Khasi and Jaintia Hills and Manipur in the former the population of Shillong has an exaggerated effect on the total population, and the district contains keen traders as well as limestone quarriers in Manipur we have already noticed the large numbers of women returned as weavers and sellers of textiles, while the priestly class are the cause of a high proportion under professions. In the plains Silsagar stands first with no less than 916 per millo dependent on agriculture and it is followed by Nowrang with 911 Cachar including North Cachar Hills, comes next and then Darrang Lakhimpur Goalpara Kamrup and Sylhet. A glance through the remaining heads of Subsidiary Table III will show the causes of this order a low position under the head agriculture implies a high proportion under industry commerce, or the professions. Nowrang is remarkable in being so dependent on agriculture though it is not a large tea district it will be noted that the agricultural proportion is high where there are tea gardens.

Turning to Subsidiary Table IV we find that, in the province as a whole of those who follow principal occupations other than agriculture, only 35 per millo have shown agriculture as their subsidiary source of income the highest proportion is in the Surma Valley where it is natural as pressure on the soil and education forces a small proportion of local people into other walks of life; the figures of the Brahmaputra Valley and the Hills would seem to follow from the fact that those who are not dependent on agriculture are people almost completely divorced from the soil and are probably strangers driven to distant places for a livelihood. Indeed for the reason that agriculture is regarded as the most respectable occupation we may infer that the statistics of Subsidiary Table IV are below the truth but the proportions are so low that it seems hardly worth while to go into them in detail. It may however be noted that the highest proportion of those who have returned agriculture as a subsidiary occupation is found in group 8—agents, managers of landed estates, etc. In the Brahmaputra Valley 10% and in the Surma Valley 85 per millo of the workers in tea gardens have cultivation of their own; this, of course excludes the colonists who depend mainly on agriculture and look to the tea gardens to help to make end meet. The figures of class B which includes industry transport, and trade is a confirmation of our previous inference that the workers under these three heads are local people in the Surma Valley and landless strangers in the Brahmaputra Valley while in the Hills it is only transport that supports a large proportion of the son of the soil. The same results accrue from a consideration of the other two classes, but public administration shows a comparatively high proportion of partial agriculturists in the Brahmaputra Valley.

Subsidiary Table V shows the proportional figures derived from Table VI II and divides the active agricultural population into (1) landlords, (2) cultivators, and (3) farm servants and field labourers. It is remarkable that out of those who returned themselves as rent receivers, over 35 per cent. pay rent to others; the majority of the remainder are also traders priests or money lenders. Out of 10,000 cultivars 79% have to labour for hire to eke out a livelihood, but we may be sure that a very large proportion if not all of these are foreigners of the rest 1,770 are also traders and 1,009 fishermen or boatmen Lastly among farm servants and field labourers no less than almost 23 per cent. are also general labourers, which points to their being temporary immigrants. 18 per cent are rent-payers, 10 per cent are fishermen and boatmen, while 1,9 out of 10,000 claim to be receivers of rent, but as the rest is subsidiary to their life as labourers we may assume that it is more a tradition than a reality.

138 Subsidiary Table VII contrasts our present statistics with those of the last census, and as there are no difficulties in comparing the agricultural groups of the present scheme with those of 1901, we have no need to resort to approximations.

The number of those dependent on ordinary cultivation shows an increase of 17·5 per cent; rent-receivers have apparently grown by 160 per cent, ordinary cultivators by 16 per cent, agents, etc., of landed estates by 11·5 per cent, while farm servants and field labourers have decreased by 8 per cent. In special cultivation there is an increase of 11·3 per cent, which is made up of 7·2 per cent in employees on tea plantations and nearly 2,000 per cent in fruit, flower, and vegetable, etc., growers. It may be stated at once that the latter enormous rise is due to the more accurate enumeration in 1911 of the orange, betel and bay leaf and aica-nut growers of the Khasi Hills. Of the remaining increases noted above the increase in agents, etc., of landed estates is no doubt due to my method of classifying under this head mazindars, supervisor kannungos, etc., as explained at the end of paragraph 131 above. The others do not call for much comment as they agree with the general growth of population and the statistics of the employees on tea gardens are fairly well confirmed by the immigration statistics, which show an increase of 10·8 per cent in the number of coolies employed in tea gardens and in the mines and oil wells of Laklumpur. The apparent decrease in those returned as farm servants and field labourers is I think due to more accurate enumeration, for example, it is improbable that there were 27,850 female field labourers in Goalpara in 1901. But the huge growth in rent-receivers deserves more detailed consideration.

139 Paragraph 209 of the last Census Report discussed the progress of tenancy,

Tenants (rent-payers).

the figures in the margin contrast the growth within the last ten years. It should be premised that in the 1901 statistics I have included proportional figures of cultivators unspecified as returned in that year in order to compare like with like. The increase in the number of rent-payers in every district except Nowgong is remarkable, but I am not sure that the whole growth is real outside the temporarily-settled districts indeed.

	1911	1901	+ or - per cent
TOTAL (excluding Goalpara)	2,113,853	1,422,602	+ 48·6
Cachar	140,958	80,643	+ 74·8
Sylhet	1,731,651	1,173,239	+ 47·6
Kamrup	126,801	118,047	+ 6·6
Darrang	39,957	16,481	+ 142·6
Nowgong	5,016	5,601	- 10·4
Sibsagar	49,024	21,494	+ 126·1
Lakhimpur	20,386	6,097	+ 234·3

I have omitted Goalpara altogether, because in the instructions originally issued no provision was made for separating the revenue-payers from the rent-payers in that district, perhaps because it is a debatable question whether the raiyats of Bijni and Sidhi Dangs are revenue-payers and the population of the rest of the temporarily-settled area is insignificant in 1901, however, no less than 72,488 persons, including dependents, were shown as cultivating landholders, i.e., revenue-payers in Goalpara. Mr Allen discounted in 1901 the value of the figures of the Surma Valley, but I can guarantee that in the temporarily-settled districts in 1911 a very clear distinction was made between those who pay for their land direct to Government and those who pay to some intermediate rent-receiver. Leaving aside the question whether the percentage of increase in the Surma Valley is real, it is very remarkable that in a raiyatwari tract like Cachar out of 269,864 ordinary cultivators and their dependents no less than 140,958 persons should live on land for which rent is paid to an intermediary. In 1901 there were 10,256 rent-payers out of a total of 238,336 cultivators excluding the few unspecified, so that we can at least assume that a very large proportion of the Cachar raiyats sublet their land. I do not claim absolute accuracy for the 1911 figures of Cachar, because I cannot guarantee a very high standard of accuracy in the compilation, which was done at Chittagong, but the results of two censuses seem to point to the conclusion that the system which prevails in the Srima Valley of allowing the settlement of a large area of waste at low rates within the raiyat's holding is not conducive to the maintenance of a really raiyatwari tenure. Coming to the Brahmaputra Valley, the 1911 figures of which I can guarantee to be reliable, we find a very notable expansion in tenancy in the three large tea districts, Darrang, Sibsagar, and Lakhimpur corresponding to similar increases in 1901. The explanation then given holds good in the main yet the coolie who wishes to start on his own cannot, at the beginning at least, go far from the garden on which he works, because without his wages he has nothing to fall back on, hence he is forced to take land on rent, usually from an indigenous cultivator. Subsidiary Table IV shows that nearly 10 per cent of the coolies working in tea gardens returned agriculture as their subsidiary occupation. I have already referred to the details of other valley. I am not, however, prepared to accept the

rest of Mr. Alles's explanation, i.e., that the Assamese after leaving his land moves further afield and takes up new land for his own cultivation. It is true that the report from Lakhimpur regarding the trekking of the Assamese further away from coolie settlements (*vide* paragraph 30 page 19) would tend to confirm this view but the real cause of this movement, which is peculiar to Dibrugarh subdivision, as given by the Deputy Commissioner is entirely different. Moreover though Mr. Allon's statement seems to have been the source of inspiration of a recent theory for colonising the waste lands of the Valley the author of itness of the Assamese rural or his neglect of material advantages, which is due to the farness of his wants, would seem to throw grave doubts on it. In my opinion the fact is that the coolie has to amass sufficient capital to warrant his taking up waste land, and he becomes first a sub-tenant near the garden on which he works to expedite the process of accumulation and perhaps to gain practical experience of the soil and crops, for it must not be forgotten that the coolies are strangers in a strange land when he is rich and experienced enough, he leaves the garden altogether and becomes a colonist on waste land. I have seen this process at work in Darrang district on a fairly large scale. The growth in sub-tenancy in the ten districts is not, in my opinion, an mixed evil. It is a step on the way to colonisation very much sooner than permanent infestation. In my own experience I found in Darrang an incipient Marwari zamindari which originated with the indolence of the ex-coolie cultivators, and it is not improbable that speculators have taken up land in Lakhimpur with a view to settle it with tenants. But on the whole until most of the waste is put under cultivation, I am inclined to think that sub-tenancy is a temporary and necessary evil for the average coolie who has the ambition to exchange the garden boy for his own ploughshare.

140 In Subsidiary Table III mines are included with industry but Tables I and

Mining and Industry

II show them separately, we have already seen that only 9 persons in 10,000 are dependent on the extraction of

minerals, and Table IV A shows that they were censured in the coal mines and petroleum wells of Lakhimpur and near the limestone quarries on the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills. The details that go to make up the sub-class industry have been referred to already. In Subsidiary Table III Manipur State is an easy first with 143 per millo supported apparently by industry including mines, but we have seen that this high proportion is not real. Khun and Jaintia Hills comes next with .8 per millo, but the largest number of persons were returned under food industries, in which out of a total of 2704 more than 2,301 were bakers and distillers consisting of 151 males, 1,273 females and 970 dependents; the next large item is under wood, which supports 1,811 persons, of whom 911 were sawyers and carpenters and their dependents; thirdly come industries of luxury etc. which account for 1,240 persons, of whom 709 were supported by the Secretariat printing press and the Survey offices at Shillong; the last two worth mentioning are industries of dress and toilet, represented by 1,013 persons, of whom 877 were dependent on tailoring and textile industries, of which out of a total of 734 no less than 777 mostly women were shown as cotton spinners; the net result is that if all tilling is excluded, the apparent industrial activity of the district disappears. The third district is Sylhet which is closely followed by Kamrup and Lakhimpur the latter owing its position to Subsidiary Table III to the coal mines and oil wells and may be left out of account, but it should be noted from Subsidiary Table III that the number of employees in the coal and oil industries has more than doubled within the last ten years. In Sylhet basket and mat making account for 11,910 persons out of 1,637 under wool, and the rest are practically restricted to 9,717 sawyers and carpenters; next come industries of dress and toilet, accounting for 19,001 of whom over 10,000 are barbers and over 8,000 weavers; they are followed by food industries which are represented by 9,617 persons, of whom two-thirds are women out of a total of 10,610 textile industries appear next, there being 3,691 cotton spinners out of a total of 5,300; curiously enough no less than 911 persons are supported by work in precious stones, imitation jewellery etc., and so industries of luxury take next place, the last three and a half industries of any account are cotton represented by 3,593 potters, metals, principally 4,713 workers in iron, and builders which supports 3,123 persons. In Kamrup potters stand first, workers in brick second, workers in precious stones, etc. third and textile workers mostly female cotton spinners, fourth. The statistics of the remaining districts are not worth examining.

The present situation of the road compared with those in 1901 in Subsidiary Table VII there is a diminution of 42 per cent. most of the large percentage of discrepancy refers to small areas and are not accurate, but in all roads, particularly to greater areas as at the present time, as for example in the districts in the

number of rice-pounders and grain-parchers, who are mostly women and of whom the former probably husk paddy for domestic consumption.

Before leaving the subject of industry, reference should be made to the special industrial census, the results of which are shown in Table XV-E. This table is divided into four parts showing (1) provincial summary, (2) distribution by districts, (3) particulars of ownership, and (4) race and caste of managers. For the purposes of this census factories include tea and other special products, the minimum limit

TOTAL	650
Special products	612
(Tea)	609
Mines and oil wells	8
Textiles	4
Wood	11
Metals	2
Glass and earthenware	1
Chemical products	4
Food	1
Construction of means of transport	5
Industries of luxury	2

was the employment of 20 hands on the census day. The number of such industrial centres is shown according to class in the margin. It will be seen that tea plantations are nearly 94 per cent of the total and give employment to no less than 493,183 workers. Table XV-A shows 468,635 workers, who are primarily dependent on tea plantations, and the difference is accounted for by those persons who returned tea as their secondary source of livelihood. The great majority of the tea plantations show more than 400 employees and more than 75 per cent are worked by mechanical power. The other special products are rubber, represented by the Government plantation at Chardnai in Daimang, and sugar-cane, which is confined to Sibsagar. Mines and collieries are only 8 in number and employ 3,879 workers according to the industrial census, while the figure in Table XV-A, excluding Khasi Hills, in which the standard number of employees was not reached, is only 6 less, and may be taken as a proof of the accuracy of our figures. The one copper mine of the province is a small undertaking in Manipur State. Textile industries are represented by four sisal factories, all situated in Sylhet, of which only one employs over 400 coolies. They are in the hands of tea planters. Wool industries consist of one carpentry works and ten saw-mills, of which five are in Lakhimpur and all make tea-boxes. Metal industries represent two engineering workshops, of which that in Sylhet belongs to the river steamer companies and the other to Government. Under the head of glass and earthenware there was only one brick factory in the province, situated in Lakhimpur. Industries connected with chemical products consist of four mustard oil mills, which are situated in Kamrup, Nowgong, and Lakhimpur. The Government distillery at Jorhat is the sole representative of food industries. Under construction of means of transport come the five railway workshops at Badarpur, Tezpur, Lumding, Jorhat and Dibrugarh. Finally, the Secretariat Press and the Drawing Office at Shillong complete the total under industries of luxury.

The classification of persons employed is interesting in showing what a large share Indians take (1) in the direction, supervision, and clerical work, and (2) amongst the skilled workmen. Under (1) come 805 Europeans and Anglo-Indians, including 3 females, and 4,513 Indians, including 54 females; it may be noted that females in superior employ are found only in tea plantations, which account for 752 Europeans and Anglo-Indians and 4,310 Indians. Under (2) come 187 Europeans and Anglo-Indians and 7,070 Indians, including 260 Indian females on tea gardens. Outside the latter Europeans and Anglo-Indians as managers, etc., are strongest in the mines and saw-mills, and as skilled workmen in the railway workshops. The statistics of race in the ownership and management are shown in Parts II and III of Table XV-E for tea, coal, and oil mills. Out of 609 tea plantations 506 are owned by companies and 103 private owners of the former 491 have European or Anglo-Indian directors and 12 have Indian directors, while of the latter 55 are owned by Europeans and Anglo-Indians and 48 by Indians. All the coal mines and three out of four oil mills are owned by companies with European or Anglo-Indian directors. The latter races are predominant in the management also. Only 73 tea plantations and the whole four oil mills are managed by Indians.

141 We have already discussed the statistics of transport so far as its main distribution is concerned. The total number dependent on this means of livelihood shows an increase of 10 per cent

since the last census. Transport by water now supports over 74 per cent more than in 1901, the increase being due to the number returned as boat-owners, etc., having been almost doubled. The number now returned in Sylhet is practically responsible for the whole of this growth and is presumably due to more correct enumeration. Transport by road has grown by over 51 per cent and the increase is probably partly due to a real growth and partly to greater accuracy in the return. Transport by rail shows a decrease of 55 per cent mainly owing to the disappearance since 1901 of the large construction staff from the railway through the hills of North Cachar. Employés in the Post Office and Telegraphs and their dependents have increased by 41 per cent.

In Subsidiary Table X are given the statistics compiled from the special returns of employees on the census day supplied by the Railways, Post Office and Telegraphs. In this table we find 9,13 persons, including 136 Europeans and Anglo-Indians, shown as directly employed by railways. Census Table XV A shows 9,000 workers on railways, and we may infer that our statistics are accurate, as we have to allow for only 114 railway employees who return some other source of livelihood as their principal occupation. The total number employed by railways, directly and indirectly is 18,033 including 101 Europeans and Anglo-Indians. The Post Office employed 1,508, of whom 6 were Europeans and Anglo-Indians, and the corresponding figures for the Telegraph Department are 711 and 39; the total employees of both departments according to the special return is 2,07 while in Table V I we find 2,312 persons who so returned their principal occupation. On the railways Europeans and Anglo-Indians monopolise all the posts of superior officers and two-thirds of the subordinate posts on pay above Rs. 75 per month, the rest of the employes are overwhelmingly Indian. In the Post Office Indians are predominant in every branch. In the Telegraphs seven out of eight administrative and three-fifths of the signalling posts are held by Europeans and Anglo-Indians, and the rest are filled by Indians.

142. We find in Subsidiary Table III that 43 per millo of the population are dependent on commerce and that the proportion so shown

Commerce

Jaintia Hills and Manipur in the former the most important is trade in food stuffs, of which the principal is the sale of groceries, oil and salt and of vegetables and fruit while in the latter female dealers in piece-goods are responsible for the high proportion. In the plains Sylhet and Kamrup are practically equal and are followed by Goalpara the remaining districts are very much below these three in which the most important item is trade in food stuffs. In Sylhet trade in fish is responsible for more than half the number under this head, less than one fourth are grocers sellers of oil, salt, etc., and less than one-seventh sell betel leaves, areca nuts, and vegetables. In Kamrup more than half the total of the outlet represents grain and pulse dealers about one-fourth traders in fish less than one-fifth grocers, etc., while sellers of milk, ghee, etc., account for over one-tenth. Goalpara is similar to Kamrup except in the number of grain dealers who in the former are less than one-fourth of the total of traders in food stuffs.

Since the last census the number supported by trade has apparently declined by 1 per cent. Looking down the details in Subsidiary Table VII we see that most of the large percentage of differences relate to small numbers. It is difficult to separate the sellers from the producers in the 1901 statistics, but if we confine ourselves to the main heads, we shall find that the discrepancies are not large. We have already seen that the large growth in trade in textiles is due to the increased number returned under this head in Manipur. Trade in skins etc. shows an increase of over 5 per cent. though the figure given for 1901 is approximate if we combine the present groups 39 and 100 so as to compare them with the group for sellers and workers of hides etc. In 1901 we find an increase of 10 per cent., which shows that there has been a large expansion in this business part of which may be attributed to more accurate enumeration. Traders in pottery have declined by over 45 per cent. while potters have increased by 31.3 per cent. though the groups of 1901 are identical with our present groups. Some portion of the difference is probably due to a change in the actual returns from sellers to makers, and for this reason our present return is probably more correct, being so most potters make and sell their wares, it is clear from the actual numbers returned at the last census and at the 1911. If we add together the makers and sellers, we find a total increase of about 6 per cent. There is a small decline in the number shown as traders in food stuffs which is mainly due to fewer people returning themselves as fish-dealers, no doubt because this occupation is not considered respectable. The large decrease in trade in hardware etc. has arisen probably from differences in the actual returns. In the old Jutes set there is no attempt here to estimate the 1901 figures. On the other hand there is an increase in trade in articles of luxury. On the whole I think we can claim great accuracy at the present census for there is a very large actual and proportional decrease in non-pedlars since 1901.

143. We have already seen that the Burma Valley is not first in the proportion of labourers (Subsidiary Table III) so that the result is due to the fact that the proportion of labourers returned some occupation as their principal source of income in the 1901. The figure for Manipur is equally high on account of the large

number of persons returned under temple service, while the Khasi Hills owes its comparatively large proportion to the headquarters offices at Shillong. Kamrup approximates closely to Sylhet under this head, and in both districts priests form two-thirds of the total law is responsible for about one-sixteenth in Sylhet and one-twenty-fourth in Kamrup, medicine and instruction each for about one-twelfth in Sylhet and one-eighth in Kamrup, while letters and arts support one-twelfth in Sylhet and one-seventeenth in Kamrup of the total enumerated under professions.

Since 1901 the number so' enumerated has grown by nearly 24 per cent, of which religion is responsible for 18 per cent mainly on account of the very large increase in the returns under temple service in Manipur. Law accounts for 62 per cent, but lawyers have grown by only 25 per cent, while their clerks, petition-writers, etc., as returned, are now 131 per cent more numerous than they were ten years ago. Medicine shows the satisfactory increase of 21 per cent, which is largely due to the multiplication of midwives, vaccinations, etc. Instruction now supports nearly 52 per cent more than in 1901 the growth is natural in view of the great expansion of education.

This paragraph may be concluded with a glance at the statistics of public force and administration, which are popularly regarded as professions. In public force there is a decline of 35 per cent owing to a reduction of 43 per cent in the Imperial Army quartered in the province we have now only two and half regiments against four in 1901, and their actual strength has decreased from 2,931 officers and men to 1,401. The total supported by police in 1901 I have had to estimate from the departmental statistics there is an apparent increase of 116 per cent in the number of workers and dependents, but according to the departmental reports there has been a decline of about 6 per cent in the number of men, which is due to the transfer of some Military Police to the Eastern Bengal districts. Our figures show 5,442 actual workers under police and the police report of 1910 gives the strength at about 5,463, allowing for 200 men of the Dacca Battalion serving in Cachar and Garo Hills on the other hand, only 1,771 have returned themselves as village watchmen, while the departmental statistics show that 6,604 were so employed in 1910, the great majority of whom must have returned themselves under other heads.

In public administration there is an apparent decline of 15 per cent made up of over 14 per cent in British service and 76 per cent in Manipur the former is not improbably due to the absence from the province of the headquarters staff, most of which was in Dacca on the census day, while in Manipur we have now a large decline in the number of dependents, our total now being only 224 against 1,067 in the group for menials and unspecified alone in 1901.

144. Workers and dependents—Subsidiary Tables I and III show the number of actual workers and of dependents and their relative proportions. It is perhaps hardly worth examining all the details of the former table and reference is invited only to Subsidiary Table III. Agriculture has only 44 actual workers to 56 dependents, the latter being more numerous than those under industry or commerce, but the professions head the list in the fewness of the workers and the large proportion of dependents. In the Surma Valley and the Hills the numbers of non-workers under agriculture and the professions are equal and it is only in the Brahmaputra Valley that the provincial proportion is reproduced thus, I think, is due mainly to the fact that coolies on tea gardens are likely to include a small proportion of non-workers, because young and old work during the plucking season. A glance at Subsidiary Table I will show that the largest proportion of dependents is found among persons living on their income, who are closely followed by those in public administration and those in the professions. It will be noted that, as in 1901, there is a very small number of dependents in textile industries for obvious reasons in view of what I have explained already. I have referred in paragraph 134 to the accuracy of the distinction between workers and dependents.

Occupations of females—Subsidiary Table VI reviews the occupations of females by sub-classes and selected orders. There are 412 female workers of every kind to 1,090 males, and practically the whole of them are confined to agriculture. On tea gardens the sexes are very nearly equal, the women being the superior sex at plucking, while the men do the cultivation. A glance at Table XV-A shows that the equality of the sexes on tea gardens is apparent in every district, but amongst ordinary cultivators it is found only in the Brahmaputra Valley and the Hills. I have already noted (in paragraph 134) that the statistics of female workers in Naga Hills as returned is incorrect. Under industry the excess of female workers is marked the

figures for textiles are exaggerated, as has been pointed out previously but the large proportion of female basket makers, etc., is probably real. Under ceramics again the gentler sex is predominant this is due to the fact that in the Brahmaputra Valley amongst the Hira caste it is they who fashion the pot (vide Hira in the glossary to Chapter XI). Sylhet is responsible for the large proportion of women in group 55, but the actual number is very small. The predominance of women in food industries is only natural, though their excess in distilling which is confined to the Khasi Hills, is perhaps not what a stranger would expect. The same district is responsible for the large proportion of female porters. Cachar now as in 1901 contains an apparent excess of female grain and pulse-dealers, which exaggerates the provincial statistics. Lastly women must be in the majority in order 55 which includes "the oldest profession in the world."

Tea garden workers.—The province owes so much to European enterprise in tea and incidentally in oil and coal, that frequent reference to the fact has already been necessary and it is not my intention now to enter into any great detail. Statistics concerning tea gardens will be found in Table XV A, where those supported are shown separately under group 5 in the industrial Table XV E, and in Provincial Tables III V which show the tea garden population of each district, respectively by language by birth place, and by caste. These statistics should be most useful to all employers of labour in Assam. We have already discussed the figures in the appropriate chapters, and they are mentioned here for easy reference by those who require them.

Occupations of those literate in English are shown in Provincial Table VI which was prepared for the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam under the orders of Sir Lancelot Hare, the late Lieutenant-Governor. The statistics will probably be of more interest for the districts of Bengal, but a brief notice of those for Assam will not be out of place. The headings of the table follow those of Imperial Table XVI, but as the figures had to be abstracted at a very early stage and before the sorters became familiar with occupational distinctions, I should not place implicit detailed reliance in them. The most numerous classes of actual male workers are shown

Arts and Professions	5,140	in the margin. Arts and professions are an easy first
Agents etc., factors	4,462	lawyers, doctors and teachers form the majority under
Cultivators	4,562	this head. The high number who are cultivators is
Landlords	2,500	apparently promising but I am afraid that the standard
Boat etc., owners	3,210	of literacy attained cannot be very high. It is clear that
Public Administrati	2,170	English education does not influence people towards the
Trade	— 1,600	pursuit of trade or industry. Statistics are given for each religion in the Table. It is

noteworthy that the number of dependents knowing English is about 40 per cent. of the workers and that there are 283 female workers, of whom 163 are employed in arts and professions and 41 are cultivators, but as 20 of the latter are Christians, we may presume that they are probably Khasis.

Industrial Survey.—A report on the industries and resources of Eastern Bengal and Assam by Mr G. N. Gupta, I.C.S., was published in 1908. Fortunately Mr Gupta treats Assam separately in most things and consequently it is not difficult to refer to what is required. I do not intend to discuss this report and I mention it here only for the benefit of those who are curious on the subject. What has been written in the present chapter reviews the facts as they existed in March 1911.

145 Subsidiary Table IV shows the distribution of occupations by religion and Subsidiary Table VIII the occupations of selected castes. The main table is Imperial Table XVI (including its appendix) which was compiled for Assam now for the first time and there are parts III and IV of the Industrial Table XV E which have been discussed in paragraph 140 so far as they relate to race.

In Subsidiary Table IX are given the religious distribution of 10,000 persons following each occupation and the occupational distribution of 10,000 persons of each religion. Muhammadan landlords are more than twice as numerous as Hindus on account of the predominance of the former in Sylhet. Animists are first in forestry and quarrymen of hard rocks, which are represented by the limestone of the Khasi Hills. Hindus are in the majority in most orders and in Industry except among masons and bricklayers where Muhammadan masons are more numerous. In trade and transport Hindus easily outnumber the other religions, but Muhammadans form the greater part of the traders in clothes and in articles of luxury. In all other orders Hindus are in the majority. Nearly 88 per cent. of the Muhammadans are supported by ordinary cultivation and they are closely followed by Animists. Hindus are

in the majority in tea gardens, and the large proportion of Christians under special produce probably refers to the betel-leaf, etc., growers of the Khasi Hills. In view of the small proportions under all other heads, it is not worth while examining them.

We have already seen that outside the Surma Valley functional castes are hardly known in Assam. Hence it is no matter of surprise to find the great majority of the castes shown in Subsidiary Table VIII dependent on agriculture. I propose to draw attention only to those castes which do not follow the general rule. A little more than half the Baidyas and less than half the Brahmins are dependent on the produce of mother earth, of the former a large proportion follow miscellaneous occupations and almost 20 per cent come under the arts and professions, mainly as lawyers, doctors, and teachers, while religion naturally absorbs a large proportion of the Brahmins. Castes like the Dhoba, Kumhar, Napit, and Sutradhar naturally show a fairly large number under their traditional occupations, though it is surprising how high is the proportion which returned agriculture; this is no doubt partly due to the greater respect of the latter source of livelihood. Only 32 per cent of the Dhobas of Sylhet, 41 per cent of the Kumhars of Sylhet and 16 per cent of those of Kamrup, 42 per cent of the Napits of Sylhet and 12 per cent of those of Kamrup, and 50 per cent of the Sutradhars of Sylhet and 14 per cent of those of Goalpara have returned their traditional occupation. Incidentally these statistics show how much more crystallised is the caste system of Sylhet than that of the Brahmaputra Valley. It is clear that the greater part of the Chasi Kaibarttas or Malushyas are cultivators now, whatever they may have been in the distant past. The fact that large numbers of Kamars, Tantis, and Telis are tea garden coolies and not artisans is reproduced in the statistics under consideration, but a fair proportion of Telis are traders. Those who returned themselves as Kewats in the Brahmaputra Valley are overwhelmingly fishermen, whether they are only real Kewats or contain a proportion of Nadiyals, who, however, prefer the title Kaibartta (*vide* paragraph 126 in Chapter XI); those who returned themselves as Nadiyals include only 22 per cent of fishermen. The Kshattriyas or Hinduised Manipuris of Manipur show the false excess we have already discussed under the head industry, and their compatriots in Sylhet and Cachar show the same tendency, though not to so great an extent. It is regrettable that the traditional occupation of Namasudras was taken to be cultivation as well as boating and hence their statistics cannot be compared with those of Patnis, who have returned only 12 per cent of their number as boatmen. It will be obvious that the Brahmaputra Valley castes are mainly agriculturists. Women are shown in large proportion as workers only in the Brahmaputra Valley and Manipur and among the lower castes elsewhere. There are only 7 and 9 female workers per cent. of males amongst the Baidyas and Kayasthas, respectively, while the women of the Ahoms, Nadiyals, Kamars, and Tantis work largely; it should be remembered that the last two represent tea coolies. The Kalitas show only 47 per cent of female workers, presumably on account of the high position of the caste. Brahmins contain an apparent percentage of 20 female workers, but this is due to the large number shown under industries, which probably refer to weaving housewives.

To complete our view of castes and occupations, we must refer to Table XV-E parts III and IV, certain income-tax statistics and the appendix to Table XVI. Out of 48 tea gardens owned by Indians 15 are the property of Brahmins and 11 of Kayasthas amongst Hindus and 8 belong to Muhammadans. In the management the same order is maintained, while west country Agarwalas manage 3 out of the 4 oil-mills. Income-tax statistics (which are not reproduced) show that out of 2,753 assesseees 1,960 come under commerce and trade, 301 under professions, 45 under owners of property and 13 under manufacturers. In commerce and trade there are 457 Agarwalas, 163 Oswals, 75 Mahesris, 17 Jains, 15 Marwaris and 14 Khatris, making a total of 741 "Kayahs" out of 1,960 assesseees there were 289 Shahas, 121 Brahmins, 116 Kayasthas, and 235 Muhammadans under the same head. Under professions Kayasthas are first with 131, Brahmins second with 64 and Muhammadans third with 20, leaving 92 to be shared by all other castes. Amongst owners of property 10 are Brahmins, 7 Kayasthas, and 6 Rajbansis. Amongst manufacturers no less than 4 out of 13 are Kalitas, 2 Christians, 2 Muhammadans and 2 Telis. There remains a miscellaneous group of "others," amounting to 464, of whom the most important are 87 Muhammadans, 74 Kayasthas, 51 Brahmins, 37 Kalitas, and 36

Shahis. Finally it is interesting to note the number of assessors of the following castes, which are generally regarded as backward —

Caste	Profession	Number assessors	Commercial and industries	Owners of property	Others
Ahoms	—	—	—	—	4
Ch. Siva	—	—	—	—	1
Dhol	—	—	—	20	2
Kachari	—	—	—	—	11
Kalbaria	—	12	72	1	9
Kalita	—	8	4	—	27
Koch	—	3	6	1	19
Makhar	—	—	—	—	—
Meck	—	—	—	—	3
Miri	—	—	—	—	—
Mudiyal	—	—	—	—	—
Musawadra	—	—	—	4	1
Rajna	—	—	—	1	1
Patal	—	2	—	—	2
Babu	—	—	—	3	3
Tipu	—	3	—	—	—
Terela	—	—	—	1	1

It is clear from the above that the great part of the lucrative business of the province is in the hands of the Marwari, and that, if we exclude Shahis under commerce and trade, Brahmins and Kayasthas monopolise the rest of the income-tax paying occupations.

We may end our consideration of occupational statistics by a brief inspection of the statistics contained in the appendix to Table XVI. Brahmins and Kayasthas form a great part of agents, etc. of landed estates, post and telegraph services, superior police service, gazetted officers in general administration, lawyers, medical practitioners (who are Baidyas also known large) and teachers. In the Brahmaputra Valley Rajbansis have a fairly large number in agents of estates and Kacharis amongst teachers in the lower grade of public administration, Ahoms, Kallitas, and Koches are fairly strong among police constables, while Kacharis, Mirches, Rajbansis, the Nepaliya tribe, and the up-country Chhutris are well represented. The predominance amongst Hindus of Brahmins and Kayasthas in all the occupations given is clearly indicated. Their strength in Government service would have been proved also from the published lists of superior Government employees, but unfortunately the original returns of estates were destroyed, and I was unable to separate the figures for Assam from those of Eastern Bengal. Muhammadans are very few in proportion in all the groups given.

We may conclude by a glance at the castes of prisoners in jails which are included in the appendix to Table XVI. Muhammadans are apparently the worst but this is no doubt due to the size of Sylhet district which necessitates the maintenance of a large central jail. In the Barak Valley Chasi Kalbarias, Kayasthas and Musawadras are the most numerous of the Hindus, while in the Brahmaputra Valley Nadiras and Koches predominate. These statistics would have been extremely useful if Assam were infested with criminals, but we are blessed with an absence of crime and the figures are of more academic than real interest.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.
General distribution by occupation.

Class, sub-class and order.	Number per 10,000 of total population			Percentage in each class, sub-class and order of	
	Persons supported.	Actual workers.	Actual workers	Dependents	
I	2	3	4	5	
A—PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS	8,761	3,884	44	56	
I.—EXPLOITATION OF THE SURFACE OF THE EARTH	8,752	3,877	44	56	
1 Pasture and Agriculture	8,609	3,814	44	56	
(a) Ordinary cultivation	7,540	3,071	41	59	
(b) Growers of special products and market gardening	996	686	69	31	
(c) Forestry	0	4	60	40	
(d) Raising of farm stock	67	53	80	20	
(e) Raising of small animals . .	...	...	58	42	
2 Fishing and hunting	143	68	44	56	
II.—EXTRACTION OF MINERALS	9	7	74	26	
3 Mines	7	5	77	23	
4 Quarries of hard rocks	1	1	62	38	
5 Salt, etc. . ..	1	1	59	41	
B—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES	762	413	54	46	
III.—INDUSTRY	307	183	60	40	
6. Textiles ...	84	67	80	20	
7 Hides, skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom .. .	2	1	55	45	
8 Wood	48	28	58	42	
9 Metals	19	7	39	61	
10 Ceramics	24	14	59	41	
11 Chemical products properly so called, and analogous	8	4	47	53	
12 Food industries	27	17	63	37	
13 Industries of dress and the toilet	51	24	46	54	
14 Furniture industries ... ..	...	..	67	33	
15 Building industries . ..	13	7	56	44	
16 Construction of means of transport ..	1	1	56	44	
17 Production and transmission of physical forces (heat, light, electricity, motive power, etc.)	...	..	75	25	
18 Industries of luxury and those pertaining to literature and the arts and sciences	25	10	40	60	
19 Industries concerned with refuse matter ...	5	3	58	47	
IV.—TRANSPORT	109	69	64	36	
20 Transport by water . ..	34	19	56	44	
21 Transport by road	48	31	70	30	
22. Transport by rail ..	20	13	66	34	
23 Post office, Telegraph and Telephone services	7	3	51	49	

SUBSIDIARY TABLE L
General distribution by occupations—continued.

Class, sub-class and order.	Number per 10,000 of total population.		Percentage in each class, sub-class and order of	
	Persons supported	Actual workers	Actual workers	Dependents
1	2	3	4	5
V.—TRADE...	...	...	...	...
24. Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance.	848	181	47	53
25. Brokerage, commission and export	9	5	33	67
26. Trade in textiles	1	...	45	54
27. Trade in skins, leather and furs	22	18	59	41
28. Trade in wood	11	5	41	58
29. Trade in metals	5	3	46	54
30. Trade in pottery	1	1	33	66
31. Trade in chemical products	4	3	53	46
32. Hotels, cafes, restaurants, etc...	8	2	51	49
33. Other trade in food stuffs	...	231	102	44
34. Trade in clothing and toilet articles	3	2	58	42
35. Trade in furniture...	5	3	57	43
36. Trade in building materials	3	2	50	50
37. Trade in means of transport	4	3	51	49
38. Trade in fuel	4	1	43	56
39. Trade in articles of luxury and those pertaining to letters and the arts and sciences.	18	7	84	16
40. Trade in rags or matter	...	...	100	...
41. Trade of other sorts	25	15	51	49
VI.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND LIBERAL ARTS.	184	70	38	62
VI.—Public Forces	...	27	18	50
42. Army	...	8	50	50
43. Police	...	13	45	54
VII.—Public Administration	...	11	7	63
VIII.—PROFESSIONS AND LIBERAL ARTS	182	49	87	63
44. Religion	...	78	27	65
45. Law	...	7	26	74
46. Medicine	...	15	50	51
47. Instruction	...	15	45	55
48. Letters and arts and sciences	...	13	45	55
IX.—PERSONS LIVING ON THEIR INCOMES	...	4	1	71
X.—MISCELLANEOUS	...	283	183	62
X.—Domestic Services	...	65	29	71
XI.—INDEFINITELY DESCRIBED OCCUPATIONS	153	79	67	43
XII.—Unproductive...	...	100	65	35
51. Inmates of jails, asylums and hospitals	8	5	101	...
52. Beggars, vagrants, prostitutes	97	62	8	88

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.
Distribution by occupation in natural divisions.

Occupation	Number per millo of total population supported in		
	Brahmaputra Valley	Surma Valley	Hills
1	2	3	4
ALL OCCUPATIONS ...	1,000	1,000	1,000
A.—PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS	896	862	853
I.—EXPLOITATION OF THE SURFACE OF THE EARTH	895	862	852
<i>1. Pasture and agriculture</i>	887	836	851
(a) Ordinary cultivation	740	748	816
1 Income from rent of agricultural land	4	42	...
2 Ordinary cultivators	726	688	808
3 Agents, managers of landed estates (not planters), clerks, rent collectors, etc.	1	1	...
4 Farm servants and field labourers	9	17	8
(b) Growers of special products and market gardening	137	84	26
5 Tea, coffee, cinchona and indigo plantations	137	84	...
6 Fruit, flower, vegetable, betel, vine, arecanut, etc., growers	...	...	20
(d) Raising of farm stock	9	4	8
8 Cattle and buffalo breeders and keepers	3	2	2
12 Herdsman, shepherds, goat-holders, etc.	6	2	5
Others (groups 7, 8, and 18)	1	...	1
<i>2. Fishing and hunting</i>	8	26	1
II.—EXTRACTION OF MINERALS	1	...	1
B.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES	62	86	92
III.—INDUSTRY	21	82	59
<i>6 Textiles</i>	2	9	46
<i>8 Wood</i>	3	8	3
<i>9 Metals</i>	2	2	1
<i>12. Food industries</i>	1	4	3
<i>13. Industries of dress and the toilet</i>	4	7	2
<i>Other industries (rest of sub-class)</i>	9	8	4
IV.—TRANSPORT	12	10	9
V.—TRADE	29	44	24
<i>26 Trade in textiles</i>	1	2	5
<i>32 Hotels, cafes, restaurants, etc.</i>	...	...	1
<i>33 Other trade in food stuffs</i>	19	30	14
<i>Other trades (rest of sub-class)</i>	9	12	4
C.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND LIBERAL ARTS	14	22	23
VI.—PUBLIC FORCE	2	2	7
VII.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	2	2	4
VIII.—PROFESSIONS AND LIBERAL ARTS	9	18	11
IX.—PERSONS LIVING ON THEIR INCOME	1	.	1
D.—MISCELLANEOUS	28	30	32
<i>X—DOMESTIC SERVICE</i>	6	6	4
<i>XI—INSUFFICIENTLY DESCRIBED OCCUPATIONS</i>	11	13	26
<i>XII—UNPRODUCTIVE</i>	11	11	2

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Distribution of the agricultural, industrial, commercial and professional population in Natural Districts and Districts.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DISTRICT	Agriculture.		Industry (occupants below).		Commerce.		Professions.	
	Population reported by agriculture.	Dependents	Population reported by industry.	Dependents	Population reported by commerce.	Dependents	Population reported by professions.	Dependents
	Actual workers	Dependents	Actual workers	Dependents	Actual workers	Dependents	Actual workers	Dependents
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ALL DISTRICTS	—	4,894,373	2,34	43	58	1,017	29	20
INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT	—	2,776,287	877	43	43	14,967	29	22
AGRICULTURE	—	2,118,086	1,469	28	28	870	22	18
COMMERCE	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
PROFESSIONS	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ARTISTS	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TEACHERS	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
CLERKS	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
OFFICERS	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
LEADERS	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
SCIENTISTS	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ARTISTS	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TEACHERS	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
CLERKS	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
OFFICERS	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
LEADERS	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
SCIENTISTS	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
SCOTIA VALLEY	—	2,679,470	62	35	42	93,262	27	22
Cotton (including Kachin)	—	40,230	—	—	—	4,023	—	—
Cochin	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Burma	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
HILLS	—	—	270,000	52	42	59,254	92	70
Other Hills	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Karen and Palaung Hills	—	18,472	8,872	2,20	2,20	2,000	—	—
Karen Hills	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Palaung Hills	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Assam Hills	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV

OCCUPATIONS combined with agriculture (where agriculture is the subsidiary occupation)

Occupation	Number per mile who are partially agriculturalists.				
	Provinces	Brakha petra Valley	Perma Valley	Hills	1
1	2	3	4	5	6
ALL OCCUPATIONS	... ...	85	27	62	17
A.—PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS	23	23	30	6	6
I.—EXPLOITATION OF THE SURFACE OF THE EARTH	23	23	30	6	6
1. Farmers of cereals	... ...	22	22	21	6
(a) Ordinary cultivation	— —	— —	— —	1	1
(b) Farms, manors, landed estates (not plantations), etc., and collections, etc.	— —	274	273	291	119
(c) Growers of special products and market gardeners	90	104	85	144	1
2. Tree culture, charcoal and timber cultivation	27	101	81	17	1
3. Fruits, flowers, vegetables, bitumen, asphalt, etc.	143	49	11	112	1
(d) Husbandry of farm stock	— —	42	27	167	6
5. Cattle and other breeders and keepers	214	78	227	32	32
10. Farm girls, farm labourers, etc.	109	103	—	39	3
12. Household help, cooks, maid-servants, etc.	— —	1	—	273	23
13. Horses (Gurkha, 2 hand 12)	— —	19	13	313	17
14. Fishing (1 hand 1)	— —	29	20	313	17
II.—EXTRA PRODUCTION	19	21	—	5	5

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV

Occupations combined with agriculture (where agriculture is the subsidiary occupation)—concluded

Occupation	Province	Number per mille who are partially agriculturists			
		Brahma-putra Valley	Surma Valley	Hills	
1	2	3	4	5	
B—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES		113	54	205	49
I II—I. INDUSTRY .		100	66	204	35
C Textiles		41	10	105	26
1 J		111	71	151	61
4 Metal		25	127	46	291
12 Petroleum		78	11	19	169
J Textile fabrics, leather, & other articles		21	60	366	19
Other industries (rest food, law)		132	61	218	30
III—TRANSPORT		100	54	156	150
V—TRADE		123	15	221	16
11 Textile textiles		75	41	144	21
12 Hotels, restaurants, etc.		30	46	116	15
Other trades (rest of which law)		151	12	215	56
Other trades (rest of which law)		115	53	184	54
C—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND LIBERAL ARTS		229	189	303	133
VI—Public Power		190	71	348	167
VII—Public Administration		251	203	309	115
VIII—Professions and Liberal Arts		239	198	296	116
IX—PITONS LIVING ON THEIR INCOME		158	101	302	61
D—MISCELLANEOUS		44	20	65	62
X—Domestic Service		43	22	78	17
XI—In service in described occupations		67	34	93	76
XII—UNPROCTIVE . .		17	5	31	

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V

Occupations combined with agriculture (where agriculture is the principal occupation)

Landlords (Rent-receivers)		Cultivators (Rent-payers)		Farm servants and field labourers	
Subsidiary occupation	Number per 10,000 who follow it	Subsidiary occupation	Number per 10,000 who follow it	Subsidiary occupation	Number per 10,000 who follow it
1	2	3	4	5	6
Total	10,000	Total	10,000	Total	10,000
Rent payers	3,843	Rent receivers	406	Rent receivers	158
Agricultural labourers	147	Agricultural labourers	316	Rent payers	1,798
Government servants of all kinds	209	General labourers	2,386	General labourers	2,279
Mongy lenders and grain dealers	685	Government servants of all kinds	53	Village watchmen	31
Other traders of all kinds	1,781	Mongy lenders and grain dealers	163	Cattle breeders and milk men	140
Priests	883	Other traders of all kinds	1,770	Mill hands	36

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V

Occupations combined with agriculture (also agricultural workers)—cont'd

Agricultural occupations.	Landholders (land receivers).		Cultivators (land-payers).		Farmers (receivers of 1-14 bales).	
	Number per 100,000 in U.S.	%	Number per 100,000 in U.S.	%	Number per 100,000 in U.S.	%
Clerks of all kinds (not Government)	323	1.028	Fishermen and boatmen	1,028	Fishermen and boatmen	1,028
School masters	203	.630	Cattle breeders and milk men	130	Rice planters	—
Lawyers	60	.187	Village watchmen	1.5	Traders of all kinds	—
Telephone agents and man- agers	82	.250	Waiters	208	Oil processors	—
Medical practitioners	145	.455	Barbers	100	Waiters	—
Artisans	172	.530	Bakers	87	Butchers	—
Other occupations	1,413	4.485	Pattern	111	Leather workers	—
			Blacksmiths and carpen- ters	232	Washermen	—
			Other occupation	2,479	Milkmaids and super- visors	—
					Other occupations	—

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI

Occupations of females by sub-class in selected orders and groups

Group A	Occupation	Occupation	Number of actual workers		% number of females per 1,000 males
			Males	Females	

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.

Occupations of females by sub-classes and selected orders and groups—continued.

Group No.	Occupation.	Number of actual workers		Number of females per 1,000 males.
		Males.	Females.	
1	2	3	4	5
08	<i>Order 21.—Transport by road</i> Persons employed on the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges.	21,017 10,342	2,829 954	253 91
09	Cart owners and drivers, coachmen, stable boys, tramway mail carriage, etc., managers and employés (excluding private servants).	6,694	67	10
10 ^a	Porters and messengers	..	2,343	1,807
103	<i>Order 2.—Trade by rail</i> Railway employees of all kinds other than construction cooches.	7,927 6,517	1,172 805	149 60
104	Labourers employed on railway construction	..	1,340	777
	SUB-CLASS V.—TRADE	..	60,161	83,570
106	<i>Order 24.—Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance, etc.</i>	1,679	439	269
108	<i>Order 26.—Trade in textiles</i>	..	5,700	3,859
109	<i>Order 27.—Trade in skins, leather and furs</i>	3,403	129	83
110	<i>Order 28.—Trade in food</i>	..	1,491	806
112	<i>Order 30.—Trade in pottery</i>	..	1,419	907
113	<i>Order 33.—Oil, fat and food stuffs</i>	..	47,440	24,479
114	Milk dealers	..	11,093	8,087
117	Grocers and sellers of vegetable oil, salt and other condiments.	..	11,587	2,613
118	Sellers of milk, butter, ghee, poultry, eggs, etc.	5,076	1,082	216
119	Sellers of sweetmeats, sugar, gur and molasses	..	1,574	381
120	Cardamom, betel-leaf, vegetables, fruit and areca-nut sellers.	..	6,820	4,482
121	Grain and pulses dealers	..	6,710	6,610
12	Tobacco, opium, ganja, etc., sellers	..	838	253
124	<i>Order 35.—Trade in fabrics</i>	..	1,573	409
125	Trade in furniture, carpets, curtains and bedding	..	1,259	379
126	<i>Order 36.—Trade in tiles (steamer bricks, plaster cones, tile files, sketch, etc.)</i>	..	839	330
127	<i>Order 37.—Trade in means of transport, etc.</i>	..	1,499	201
128	<i>Order 38.—Trade in fuel</i>	..	807	253
129	<i>Order 39.—Trade in letters, etc.</i>	..	4,19	272
132	Dealers in common bangles, local necklaces, fans, small articles, toys, hunting and fishing tackle, flowers, etc.	3,917	816	216
133	<i>Order 41.—Trade of other sorts</i>	..	..	1075
134	Shopkeeper otherwise unclassified	..	6,431	933
	SUB-CLASS VII.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	..	4,922	85
	SUB-CLASS VIII.—PROFESSIONS AND LIBERAL ARTS	..	3,141	1,400

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI

Occupations of females by sub-classes and selected orders and groups—concl'd

Group No.	Occupation	Number of actual workers		Number of females per 1,000 males
		Males	Females	
1	2	3	4	5
	<i>Order 46—Religion</i>			
158	Priests, ministers, etc	18,402	891	48
151	Temple, burial or burning ground service, pilgrim conductors, circumcisers	15,460 1,724	639 175	41 102
	<i>Order 48—Medicine</i>			
154	Medical practitioners of all kinds, including dentists, oculists and veterinary surgeons	3,992 2,947	264 86	66 29
155	Midwives, vaccinators, compounders, nurses, masseurs, etc	1,045	178	170
156	<i>Order 49—Instruction</i>	5,356	229	43
	<i>Order 50—Letters and arts and sciences</i>			
160	Music composers and masters, players on all kinds of musical instruments (not military), singers, actors and dancers	4,108 2,265	76 78	19 34
161	SUB-CLASS IX—PERSONS LIVING ON THEIR INCOME	877	67	76
	SUB-CLASS X.—DOMESTIC SERVICE	22,033	5,550	252
162	Cooks, water-carriers, doorkeepers, watchmen and other indoor servants	20,228	5,526	273
163	Private rooms, coachmen, dog boys, etc	1,805	24	13
	SUB CLASS XI.—INSUFFICIENTLY DESCRIBED OCCUPATIONS	38,501	16,902	439
165	Cashiers, accountants, book-keepers, clerks and other employees in unspecified offices, warehouses and shops	6,208	114	18
167	Labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified	30,480	16,788	551
	SUB CLASS XII—UNPRODUCTIVE	20,082	26,129	1,801
168	<i>Order 54—Inmates of jails, asylums and hospitals</i>	2,160	88	41
169	<i>Order 55—Beggars, vagrants, prostitutes</i>	17,922	26,041	1,453

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII

Selected Occupations, 1911 and 1901

Group No.	Occupation	Population supported in 1911	Population supported in 1901	Percentage of variation
1	2	3	4	5
	I—EXPLOITATION OF THE SURFACE OF THE EARTH..	6,178,381	5,261,582	+ 17 4
1	1—Pasture and agriculture	6,077,685	5,184,087	+ 17 2
1	(a) Ordinary cultivation	5,323,380	4,529,025	+ 17 5
1	Income from rent of agricultural land ..	187,106	52,571	+ 160 8
2	Ordinary cultivators	5,002,771	4,380,771	+ 16 3
3	Agents, managers of landed estates (not planters), clerks, rent-collectors, etc	8,581	8,507	+ 144 7
4	Farm servants and field labourers ..	64,922	92,176	- 7 9

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.

Selected Occupations 1911 and 1901—continued

Group No.	Occupation.	Population reported in 1911.	Population reported in 1901.	Percentage of variation.
1	2	3	4	5
	(b) Growers of special products and market gardening	703,793	631,400	+11.3
6	Tea, coffee, canchona and indigo plantations	676,300	659,907	+ 7.2
6	Fruit flower, vegetable, betel, vine, artemesia, etc., growers	27,433	1,333	+ 1,922.1
	(c) Forestry	4,000	3,453	+ 16.3
8	Wood-cutters firewood, lac, catechu, rubber, etc., collectors and barrel burners	2,763	2,705*	- 11
	(d) Raising of farm stock	47,778	20,220	+133.0
9	Cattle and buffalo breeders and keepers ...	18,818	11,036	+ 69.4
10	Sheep, goat and pig breeders	98	75*	+ 30
11	Breeders of other animals (horses, mules, camels, etc.)	0	85	- 89.8
12	Herdsmen, shepherds, goatherds, etc.	28,344	8,990	+215.4
	(e) Rearing of small animals	133	90	+ 56.4
	2. Fishing and hunting	100,700	77,453	+ 30.0
14	Fishing	100,10	77,153	+ 29.7
1	Hunting	604	810	+ 77.8
	II.—EXTRACTION OF MINERALS			
3	Mica	6,523	3,195	+ 84.0
4	Quarries of hard rock	5,129	2,109	+ 132.9
5	Salt etc.	690	687	+ 1.9
		791	699	+ 14.6
	III.—INDUSTRY	216,024	200,293	+ 8.2
	1. Textiles			
21	Cotton, jute, cleaning and pressing	59,419	59,975	+ 9.0
22	Cotton spinning, sowing and weaving	46	5,278	- 98.6
23	Jute spinning, pressing and weaving	50,298	53,530	+ 6.8
24	Hemp, twine and string	198	198	0.0
25	Wool carders and spinners, weavers of woollen blankets, carpet, etc.	1,053	510	+ 97.0
26	Silk spinners and weavers	10	10*	0.0
27	Dyeing, bleaching, printing, preparation and spinning of textiles	1,717	805	+ 202.3
28		41	810	- 57.1
	2. Industries based on raw materials from the land	1,432	1,071	+ 33.7
	E. g. cotton			
29	Tanners, curriers, leather dressers, etc.	1,223	1,000*	+ 22.3
30	Makers of leather articles such as tea kis, water bags, etc.	83	83	0.0
31	Friars	113	64	+ 61.9
32	Bone, ivory horn, bell etc. workers	13	3	+ 333.3
	3. Handicrafts			
33	Stringers, carpenters, turners, tailors, etc.	2,815	17,151	+ 102
34	Leather tanners and others, makers of articles of wood, bone, hair, etc.	18,711	107	+ 79
	4. Manufactures			
35	Furniture, metal, agricultural implements, etc.	13,819	1,072	+ 122
36	Other workers in manufacture of implements	20	1,04	+ 10
37	It. including metal, glass, pottery, etc.	3,613	1,476	+ 63
38	Manufacture of metal	1,07	4,207	+ 27.5

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII

Selected Occupations, 1911 and 1901—continued

Group No.	Occupation	Population supported in 1911	Population supported in 1901	Percentage of variation
1	2	3	4	5
10	<i>Ceramics</i>			
47	Potters and earthen pipe and bowl makers	16,795 15,677	12,690 11,039	+ 32.3 + 31.3
11	<i>Chemical products properly so called, and analogous</i>			
53	Manufacture and refining of vegetable and mineral oils	5,426 4,286	3,446 3,028	+ 57.5 + 41.5
12	<i>Food industries</i>			
56	Rice pounders and huskers and flour grinders	19,871 18,637	23,965 17,721	- 23.0
57	Bakers and biscuit makers	662	647	+ 2.3
58	Gruin parchers, etc	1,023	8,921	- 73.9
59	Butchers	376	296	+ 27.0
62	Makers of sugar, molasses and gur	45	20*	+ 125
63	Sweetment makers, preparers of jam and condiments, etc	1,020	68	+ 1,533.3
64	Brewers and distillers	2,616	1,280	+ 96.6
65	Toddy drawers	16		
13	<i>Industries of dress and the toilet</i>			
68	Tailors, milliners, dress makers and darning, embroiderers on linen	36,090 10,018	32,256 8,716	+ 11.9 + 14.9
69	Shoe, boot and sandal makers ..	1,852	1,974	- 6.2
71	Washing, cleaning and dyeing	8,956	8,725	+ 2.6
72	Barbers, hairdressors and wig makers	14,949	12,830	+ 16.5
14	<i>Furniture industries</i> .. .	73	80	- 8.8
15	<i>Building industries</i> .. .			
77	Excavators, plinth builders and well-sinkers ..	8,958 3,004	7,055 30	+ 27.0 + 9,913.3
78	Stone and marble workers, masons and bricklayers ..	3,014	3,215	- 5.3
16	<i>Construction of means of transport</i>			
		640	2,122	- 69.8
17	<i>Production and transmission of physical forces (heat, light, electricity, motive power, etc)</i>	4	1	+ 300
18	<i>Industries of luxury and those pertaining to literature and the arts and sciences</i>			
80	Workers in precious stones and metals, enamellers, imitation jewellery makers, gilders, etc	17,796 15,647	15,768 14,625	+ 12.5 + 7.0
90	Makers of bangles, rosaries, bead and other necklaces, spangles, lingams and sacred threads	850	259	+ 35.1
93	19 <i>Industries concerned with refuse matter</i>	3,403	3,330*	+ 2.2
	IV.—TRANSPORT .. .	76,600	69,630	+ 10.0
95	20 <i>Transport by water</i>	23,841 3,043	13,692 2,897	+ 74.1 + 5.0
96	Ship owners and their employés, ship brokers, ships' officers, engineers, mariners and firemen	3		
97	Persons employed on the maintenance of streams, rivers and canals (including construction)	20,480	10,873	+ 97.1
98	Boat owners, boatmen and towmen ..	34,268 18,967	22,628 7,583*	+ 51.4 + 84.2
99	21 <i>Transport by road</i>	10,194	7,142	+ 42.7
	Persons employed on the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges			
	Cart owners, and drivers, coachmen, stable boys, tramway, mail carriage, etc., managers and employés (excluding private servants)			

N.B.—Figures of 1901 marked with an asterisk are approximate

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII
Selected Occupations 1911 and 1901—contd. sec.

Group No.	Occupation.	Population reported in 1911.	Population reported in 1901.	Percentage of variation.
1	2	3	4	5
100	Palki, etc. bearers and owners	3,503	1,774	+ 97.5
101	Pack elephant, camel, mule, ass and bullock owners and drivers	28	2,633	- 99.1
102	Porters and messengers	... ... ...	6,531	+ 161.2
	<i>22. Transport by rail</i>			
103	Railway employees of all kinds other than construction workers	11,218	80,011	- 85.1
104	Labourers employed on railway construction	~	21,000*	- 90.6
105	<i>23. Post office Telegraph and Telephone services</i>	~	4,614	+ 41.0
	<i>V.—TRADE</i>		214,559	+ 17.402
106	<i>24. Banks, establishments of credit, estate agents, insurance</i>	6,405	8,013	+ 11.93
107	<i>25. Brokerage commission, and export</i>	413	762	- 43.9
108	<i>26. Trade in textiles</i>	15,223	11,923	+ 28.3
109	<i>27. Trade in skins, leather and furs</i>	6,019	8,108*	+ 57.6
110	<i>28. Trade in wood</i>	... ... ...	8,519	- 3,630* - 9.9
111	<i>29. Trade in metals</i>	620	199	+ 213.9
112	<i>30. Trade in pottery</i>	8,908	6,803	- 45.3
113	<i>31. Trade in chemical products</i>	1,811	562	+ 222.9
	<i>32. Hotel, ales, rest. meat, etc.</i>	1,921	2,013	- 6.2
114	Vendor of wine, liquors, several waters, etc.	1,215	1,725	- 27.9
115	Owner and manager of hotels, cookshops, marts, etc., and their employees	675	810	+ 110.0
	<i>33. Other trade in foodstuffs</i>	163,059	163,415	- 1.1
116	Fish dealers	60,221	77,512	- 22.3
117	Grocers and sellers of vegetable oil, salt and other condiments	58,797	32,823	+ 142
118	Sellers of milk, butter, ghee, poultry, eggs, etc.	11,013	8,614*	+ 37.0
119	Sellers of sweetmeats, sugar, gur and molasses	3,787	3,118	+ 21.7
120	Cardamom, betel-leaf, vegetables, fruit and araca-nut sellers	2,060	22,610	- 8.6
121	Grain and pulse dealers	26,531	20,523	+ 29.3
122	Tobacco, plums, ganja, etc., sellers	2,867	2,119	- 3.6
123	Dealers in beggar grass and pips	... ... ...	147	+ 20.9
124	Dealers in hay, grass and fodder	... ... ...	100	- 47.1
125	<i>34. Trade in clothing & toilet articles</i>	1,661	703	+ 131.6
	<i>35. Trade in furniture</i>	8,500	7,072	- 4.3
127	Hh. hardware, cooking at meal, port-lantern, crockery, glassware, bottles, articles for gardening, the cellar, etc.	1,375	7,072	- 89.6
128	<i>36. Trade in building materials</i>	2,227	2,000	- 11.04
129	<i>37. Trade in men of the sports</i>	2,093	1,022*	+ 65.4
130	<i>38. Trade in fish</i>	2,021	2,026*	+ 0.0

* E.—Figures of 1901 marked with an asterisk are approximate.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII

Selected Occupations, 1911 and 1901—continued

Group No.	Occupation	Population supported in 1911	Population supported in 1901	Percentage of variation.
1	2	3	4	5
	39 <i>Trade in articles of luxury and those pertaining to letters and the arts and sciences</i>	9,555	2,422	+ 294 5
131	Dealers in precious stones, jewellery (real and imitation), clocks, optical instruments, etc	463	381	+ 21 5
132	Dealers in common bangles, bead necklaces, fans, small articles, toys, hunting and fishing tackle, flowers, etc.	8,858	1,967*	+ 350 3
134	40 <i>Trade in refuse matter</i>	3		
135	41 <i>Trade of other sorts</i>	17,411	82,413	— 46 3
138	Shopkeepers otherwise unspecified	15,356	30,376	— 49 4
	Other trades (including farmers of pounds, tolls and markets).	971	803	+ 20 9
	VI—PUBLIC FORCE ...	18,885	10,576	— 35
139	42 <i>Army</i>	3,122	5,448	— 42 7
140	Army (Imperial)	8,105	5,448	— 48 0
	Army (Native States)	17		...
142	44 <i>Police</i>	15,763	14,128	+ 11 6
143	Police	10,770	9,803*	+ 15 7
	Village watchmen	4,993	4,820*	+ 3 6
	VII.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION ...	15,032	17,676	— 15 0
144	Service of the State ...	9,126	10,635*	— 14 2
145	Service of Native and Foreign States ...	545	2,293	— 76 2
146	Municipal and other local (not village) service	1,160	706	+ 64 3
147	Village officials and servants other than watchmen	4,201	4,042*	+ 3 9
	VIII.—PROFESSIONS AND LIBERAL ARTS ...	92,915	75,126	+ 23 7
148	46 <i>Religion</i>	55,289	46,890	+ 17 9
	Priests, Ministers, etc	48,309	43,631	+ 10 7
149	Religious mendicants, inmates of monasteries, etc	797	535	+ 49 0
150	Catechists, readers, Church and Mission service	1,600	1,044*	+ 53 3
151	Temple, burial or burning ground service, pilgrim conductors, circumcisers	4,583	1,680*	+ 172 8
	47 <i>Law</i>	5,118	3,160	+ 62 0
152	Lawyers of all kinds, including Kazis, law agents and mukhtars	2,586	2,064	+ 25 3
153	Lawyers' clerks, petition writers, etc	2,582	1,096	+ 131 0
	48 <i>Medicine</i>	10,886	8,966	+ 21 4
154	Medical practitioners of all kinds, including dentists, oculists and veterinary surgeons	8,502	7,693	+ 10 5
155	Midwives, vaccinators, compounders, nurses, masseurs, etc	2,384	1,273	+ 87 3
156	49 <i>Instruction</i> ...	12,357	8,148	+ 51 7
	50 <i>Letters and Arts and Sciences</i>	9,265	7,962	+ 16 4
159	Others (authors, photographers, artists, sculptors, astronomers, meteorologists, botanists, astrologers, etc)	1,245	1,565*	-20 4
160	Music composers and masters, players on all kinds of musical instruments (not military), singers, actors, and dancers	5,304	5,047	+ 5 1
	IX—PERSONS LIVING ON THEIR INCOME	8,206	2,649	+ 21 0

N.B.—Figures of 1901 marked with an asterisk are approximate

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.

Selected Occupations, 1911 and 1901—continued.

Group No.	Occupation.	Population reported in 1911.	Population reported in 1901.	Percentage of variation.
1	2	3	4	5
	X.—Domestic Services	... ...	39,639	51,050
163	Cooks, waiter-carriers, doormasters, watchmen and other indoor servants.	35,530	48,390	-26.9
163	Private grooms, coachmen, dog boys, etc. ...	3,160	2,651	+18.3
	XL.—Inscrutinously described occupations	97,701	97,175	+0.5
164	Manufacturers, business men and contractors otherwise unspecified.	1,899	2,902	-34.0
163	Cashiers, accountants, book-keepers, clerks and other employed in unspecified offices, warehouses and shops.	9,893	16,105*	-33.5
167	Labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified	53,780	78,140	+7.2
	XII.—Unproductive	70,893	80,833	-12.1
163	64 Inmates of jails, asylums and hospitals	2,226	1,767	+27.7
189	65 Beggars, vagrants, prostitutes	63,627	78,563*	-13.0

* B.—Figures of 1901 marked with an asterisk are approximate.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII
Occupations of selected castes

Caste and occupation.		Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males	Caste and occupation		Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.		
1	2			1	2				
AHOM									
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY		1,000	84	GOALA		1,000	46		
Sub-class I—Exploitation of the surface of the earth	972	87		Sub-class I—Exploitation of the surface of the earth	811	53			
Order 1—Group 2—Cultivators of all kinds	958	89		Order 1 (a)—Raisors of livestock, milk men and herdsmen, etc	129	7			
Sub-class III—Industries	3	22		Sub-class III—Industries	21	26			
" " V—Trade	2	5		IV—Transport	37	3			
" " X—Domestic service	3	72		V—Trade	25	24			
" " XI—Insufficiently described occupations	5	38		X—Domestic service	35	22			
" " XII—Unproductive	6	126		XI—Insufficiently described occupations	48	33			
Others "	9	"		XII—Unproductive	10	75			
				Others	"	18	28		
BAIDYA									
PROVINCE		1,000	7	PROVINCE		1,000	34		
Sub-class I—Exploitation of the surface of the earth	516	12		Sub-class I—Exploitation of the surface of the earth	877	81			
VIII—Arts and professions	196	2		III—Industries	53	87			
Orders 47-4—Lawyers, doctors and teachers	175	12		V—Trade	13	16			
Others	258	4		VIII—Arts and professions	13	5			
				X—Domestic service	4	19			
				XI—Insufficiently described occupations	8	20			
BARUI									
SURMA VALLEY		1,000	16	PROVINCE		1,000	282		
Sub-class I—Exploitation of the surface of the earth	943	15		XII—Unproductive	27	5	1		
Order 1—Group 2—Cultivators of all kinds	700	5		Others	"				
Sub-class V—Trade	19	143							
XII—Unproductive	14	18		KAIBARTTA CHASI (MAHISHYA)					
Others	24	Others							
BHUINMALI									
SYLHET		1,000	12	PROVINCE		1,000	6		
Sub-class I—Exploitation of the surface of the earth	725	6		Sub-class I—Exploitation of the surface of the earth	895	4			
III—Industries	118	26		Order 1—Group 2—Cultivators of all kinds	818	3			
IV—Transport	81	1		Sub-class III—Industries	18	115			
V—Trade	59	52		" " V—Trade	26	4			
X—Domestic service	18	29		" " X—Domestic service	29	30			
XI—Insufficiently described occupations	85	42		XI—Insufficiently described occupations	5	18			
Others	12	183		XII—Unproductive	11	154			
	9	3		Others	"	16	3		
BRAHMAN									
PROVINCE		1,000	20	KALITA					
Sub-class I—Exploitation of the surface of the earth	497	20							
III—Industries	31	703		BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY					
V—Trade	74	10		Sub-class I—Exploitation of the surface of the earth	1,000	47			
VII—Arts and professions	701	4		Order 1, Group 2—Cultivators of all kinds	883	48			
Order 46—Religion	263	5		Sub-class III—Industries	845	50			
Sub-class X—Domestic service	20	5		" " V—Trade	30	73			
XI—Insufficiently described occupations	11	2		" " X—Domestic service	27	7			
Others	28	9		XII—Unproductive	10	13			
	38	46		Others	23	201			
		1			27	2			
DHOBA									
SYLHET		1,000	18	KAMAR (HINDU)					
Sub-class I—Exploitation of the surface of the earth	647	8		Sub-class I—Exploitation of the surface of the earth	1,000	73			
III—Industries	394	45		Sub-class III—Industries	861	88			
XI—Insufficiently described occupations	7	18		" " IV—Trade	94	5			
Others	7	272		" " XI—Insufficiently described occupations	8	29			
	15	7		Others	17	72			
					20	40			
KAYASTHA									
PROVINCE		1,000	20	PROVINCE					
Sub-class I—Exploitation of the surface of the earth	497	20		Sub-class I—Exploitation of the surface of the earth	1,000	9			
III—Industries	31	703		Sub-class III—Industries	594	11			
V—Trade	74	10		" " V—Trade	39	10			
VII—Arts and professions	701	4		" " VIII—Arts and professions	116	4			
Order 46—Religion	263	5		" " X—Domestic service	83	2			
Sub-class X—Domestic service	20	5		" " XI—Insufficiently described occupations	20	14			
XI—Insufficiently described occupations	11	2		Others	77	1			
Others	28	9							
	38	46							
		1							

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII.
Occupation of selected cities—continued.

Cities and occupations.				Cities and occupations.			
		Number of males employed per 100 number of males employed	Number of females employed per 100 number of females employed			Number of males employed per 100 number of males employed	Number of females employed per 100 number of females employed
	1	2	3		1	2	3
KEVAT				KAPIT			
BRAMHAPUTRA VALLEY				SYLLET	—	—	—
Sub-class I—Exploitation of the surface of the earth	1,000	50	50	Sub-class I—Exploitation of the surface of the earth	—	—	1,000
Order 2—Fishing and hunting	—	—	—	III—Industries	—	—	—
Sub-class III—Industries	—	—	—	Others	—	—	—
V—Trade	—	—	—		—	—	—
X—Domestic service	—	—	—		—	—	—
XI—Inexactly described occupations	—	—	—		—	—	—
Others	XII—Unproductive	—	—		—	—	—
	—	—	—		—	—	—
KOHATTHIYVA					—	—	—
CAZIER AND SYLLET					—	—	—
Sub-class III—Exploitation of the surface of the earth	1,000	50	50		—	—	—
Order 1—Group II—Cultivation of all kinds	—	—	—		—	—	—
Sub-class III—Industries	—	—	—		—	—	—
V—Trade	—	—	—		—	—	—
XI—Inexactly described occupations	—	—	—		—	—	—
Others	XII—Unproductive	—	—		—	—	—
	—	—	—		—	—	—
MARIGA					PATNA		
Sub-class I—Exploitation of the surface of the earth	1,000	50	50	SYLLET VALLEY	—	—	—
Order 1—Group II—Cultivation of all kinds	—	—	—	Sub-class I—Exploitation of the surface of the earth	—	—	1,000
Sub-class III—Industries	—	—	—	III—Industries	—	—	—
V—Trade	—	—	—	IV—Transport	—	—	—
VII—Arts and professions	—	—	—	V—Trade	—	—	—
X—Domestic service	—	—	—	XI—Domestic service	—	—	—
Others	XII—Unproductive	—	—	XI—Inexactly described occupations	—	—	—
	—	—	—	XII—Unproductive	—	—	—
KUMHAR					RAJNAGAR		
SYLLET					GOALPARA		
Sub-class I—Exploitation of the surface of the earth	1,000	50	50	Sub-class I—Exploitation of the surface of the earth	—	—	1,000
III—Industries	—	—	—	Order 1—Group II—Cultivation of all kinds	—	—	—
V—Trade	—	—	—	Sub-class III—Industries	—	—	—
Others	—	—	—	V—Trade	—	—	—
	—	—	—	X—Domestic service	—	—	—
KAMKUT				XI—Inexactly described occupations	—	—	—
Sub-class I—Exploitation of the surface of the earth	1,000	50	50	XII—Unproductive	—	—	—
III—Industries	—	—	—	Others	—	—	—
Others	—	—	—		—	—	—
NADIVAL							
BRAMHAPUTRA VALLEY				SYLLET			
Sub-class I—Exploitation of the surface of the earth	1,000	50	50	Sub-class I—Exploitation of the surface of the earth	—	—	—
Order 2—Fishing and hunting	—	—	—	III—Industries	—	—	—
Sub-class II—Industries	—	—	—	V—Trade	—	—	—
V—Trade	—	—	—	XI—Domestic service	—	—	—
Others	XII—Unproductive	—	—	XI—Inexactly described occupations	—	—	—
	—	—	—	XII—Unproductive	—	—	—
NAMASUDRA				Others	—	—	—
SYLLET VILLAGE							
Sub-class I—Exploitation of the surface of the earth and sub-class IV— Transport	1,000	50	50				
Orders 1 and 2—Group II—Cultivation of all kinds and hunting	—	—	—				
Sub-class III—Industries	—	—	—				
V—Trade	—	—	—				
X—Domestic service	—	—	—				
XI—Inexactly described occupations	—	—	—				
Others	XII—Unproductive	—	—				
	—	—	—				
GOALPARA							
Sub-class I—Exploitation of the surface of the earth	—	—	—				
Order 1—Group II—Cultivation of all kinds	—	—	—				
Sub-class III—Industries	—	—	—				
V—Trade	—	—	—				
X—Domestic service	—	—	—				
XI—Inexactly described occupations	—	—	—				
Others	XII—Unproductive	—	—				
	—	—	—				
SUDRA							
SYLLET							
Sub-class I—Exploitation of the surface of the earth	—	—	—				
III—Industries	—	—	—				
V—Trade	—	—	—				
XI—Domestic service	—	—	—				
XI—Inexactly described occupations	—	—	—				
Others	XII—Unproductive	—	—				
	—	—	—				
SUTRADHAR							
SYLLET							
Sub-class I—Exploitation of the surface of the earth	—	—	—				
III—Industries	—	—	—				
V—Trade	—	—	—				
XI—Domestic service	—	—	—				
XI—Inexactly described occupations	—	—	—				
Others	XII—Unproductive	—	—				
	—	—	—				
TANTU							
SYLLET							
Sub-class I—Exploitation of the surface of the earth	—	—	—				
III—Industries	—	—	—				
V—Trade	—	—	—				
XI—Domestic service	—	—	—				
XI—Inexactly described occupations	—	—	—				
Others	XII—Unproductive	—	—				
	—	—	—				
GOALPARA							
Sub-class I—Exploitation of the surface of the earth	—	—	—				
III—Industries	—	—	—				
V—Trade	—	—	—				
XI—Domestic service	—	—	—				
XI—Inexactly described occupations	—	—	—				
Others	XII—Unproductive	—	—				
	—	—	—				
TELI ORTILI							
SYLLET							
Sub-class I—Exploitation of the surface of the earth	—	—	—				
III—Industries	—	—	—				
V—Trade	—	—	—				
XI—Domestic service	—	—	—				
XI—Inexactly described occupations	—	—	—				
Others	XII—Unproductive	—	—				
	—	—	—				

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX
Occupation by religion

Order No	Order and Selected Groups	Distribution by Religion of 10 000 Persons following each occupation					Distribution by Occupation of 10 000 Persons of each Religion				
		Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Anulist	Others	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Anulist	Others
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	TOTAL POPULATION	5 438	2 693	94	1,755	20	10 000	10 000	10 000	10 000	10 000
1	<i>Pasture and agriculture</i>	5 154	2 775	91	1,935	16	8,207	8,879	8,827	9,498	6,502
	(a) Ordinary cultivation	4 732	3 135	85	2,032	10	6,502	8,780	6,780	8,720	6,073
	1. Income from rent of agricultural land.	3,038	6,006	6	802		110	476	13	83	1
	2. Ordinary cultivators	4,701	3,033	80	2,075	17	6,870	8,133	6,599	913	6,033
	3. Farm servants and field labourers	5,037	3,58	127	1,223	5	113	159	163	24	23
	(b) Growers of special products and market gardening	8,490	175	132	1,199	4	1,554	64	1,396	680	220
	(c) Forestry	6,551	1 000	240	2,132	68	7	2	26	7	20
	8. Wood-cutters fire-wood lac cate- shu rubber etc collectors and charcoal burners.	4,113	1,098	127	2,036	58	4	2	5	6	11
	(d) Raising of farm stock	6,835	1,047	100	1,671	57	84	26	185	71	189
	9 Cattle and buffalo breeders and keepers	9,334	261	18	840	60	46	2	4	5	79
	12. Herdsmen, shepherds, goat herds etc	5,178	1,674	306	2,887	55	39	23	130	68	110
	(e) Raising of small animals	1,111	1,852	290	6,741	..	..	..	1	1	..
2	<i>Fishing and hunting</i>	6,153	3,820	2	17	2	161	203	3	1	15
3	<i>Mines</i>	8,212	1,185	100	111	383	11	3	8	..	188
4	<i>Quarries of hard rocks</i>	2,382	1,353	721	5,235	309	..	..	7	3	15
5	<i>Salt, etc</i>	4,202	14	..	5,784	..	2	..	..	3	..
6	<i>Textiles</i>	9,068	306	17	613	1	140	10	15	20	4
	22. Cotton spinning sizing and weaving	9,122	247	17	613	1	134	7	15	16	4
7	<i>Hides skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom</i>	9,581	203	91	85	4	..	..	..	..	4
8	<i>Wood</i>	8,760	615	103	415	101	78	11	53	11	241
	36. Sawyers carpenters, turners and joiners etc	8,644	671	170	457	108	45	7	53	7	241
	37. Basket makers and other industries of woody material, including leaves	9,085	533	4	868	..	32	4	1	4	..
9	<i>Metals</i>	7,071	1,631	20	305	13	28	11	4	4	12
	41. Other workers in iron and makers of implements and tools, principally or exclusively of iron	9,319	310	27	323	23	19	1	3	2	12
10	<i>Ceramics</i>	9,795	145	5	62	..	43	1	1	1	..
11	<i>Chemical products properly so called, and analogous</i>	7,458	2,527	..	15	..	11	7	..	..	..
12	<i>Food industries</i>	4,672	3,804	20	1,501	3	24	30	6	24	5
	46. Bloo powderers and bakers and flour grinders	6,017	4,773	11	19	1	18	34	2	2	1
13	<i>Industries of dress and the toilet</i>	7,520	2,206	58	205	11	71	43	32	0	27
	48. Tailors milliners dress makers and dressers embroiderers on linen	2,511	6,618	202	645	24	7	35	30	5	17
14	<i>Furniture industries</i>	8,356	1,607	..	137	..	..	..	..	..	..
15	<i>Building industries</i>	6,383	2,990	60	558	0	15	14	8	4	6
	78. Stone and marble workers masons and brick layers	3,630	5,056	113	1,063	20	3	6	6	3	6
16	<i>Construction of means of transport</i>	8,594	397	47	1,062	..	1	..	..	1	..
17	<i>Production and transmission of physical forces (heat light, electricity, motive power, etc)</i>	7,500	..	..	2,500	..	..	..	..	..	1
18	<i>Industries of luxury and those pertaining to literature and the arts and sciences</i>	8,441	1,030	167	327	26	39	10	44	5	32
	80. Workers in precious stones and metals enamellers imitation jewellery makers gilders etc	8,845	9,2	28	153	22	35	8	6	2	24
19	<i>Industries concerned with refuse matter</i>	7,630	443	70	1,822	35	7	1	4	5	8
20	<i>Transport by water</i>	6,007	3,035	21	32	5	43	38	8	1	8
21	<i>Transport by road</i>	7,255	894	146	1,688	17	65	16	75	47	42
	83. Persons employed on the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges	6,608	678	24	131	9	31	6	5	3	5
	82. Cart owners and drivers, coachmen stable boys tramway mail carriage etc managers and employees (excluding private servants)	7,516	1,681	100	699	33	70	8	17	6	25
	102. Porters and messengers	..	2,024	313	533	10	15	3	1	2	5

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX.
Occupation by religion—cont'd.

Source	In selected districts.	DEPOSITION BY ELEMENT OF 10,000 PERSONS FOLLOWING EACH QUARTER TYP.					DEPOSITION BY OCCUPATION OF 10,000 PERSONS OF EACH ELEMENT				
		1 E	2 N	3 O	4 P	5 Q	6 R	7 S	8 T	9 U	10 V
1	—	4	9	9	7	7	9	9	14	11	11
2	Transport by rail	4,694	3,377	31	279	23	29	9	94	—	—
3	III. Railway employees of all kinds other than construction workers.	18	1,803	20	179	0	10	7	66	—	—
4	IV. Labourers employed on railway construction.	1,800	1,800	—	71	—	1	—	—	—	—
5	Post Office Telegraph and Telephone services.	2,947	2,118	279	230	27	29	0	29	—	—
6	Hotels, restaurants, inns, etc., exchange and instrument.	8,853	7,032	32	268	230	21	4	8	—	—
7	Bottlers, commission and export	7,042	5,819	31	49	48	2	—	—	—	—
8	Trade in hardware	—	7,048	1,000	291	270	429	29	3	46	7
9	Trade in skins, leather and furs	8,815	3,620	—	13	—	23	0	—	—	—
10	Trade in wood	—	8,817	2,467	261	211	0	0	—	—	—
11	Trade in metals	—	8,824	3,271	260	262	21	1	—	2	1
12	Trade pottery	—	8,833	263	—	69	—	0	1	—	—
13	Trade in chemical products	—	8,838	8,962	270	233	233	8	8	8	2
14	Hotels, cafés, restaurants, etc.	2,063	1,968	39	8,907	—	0	0	0	0	—
15	Other trade in food stuffs	—	2,236	2,224	32	821	27	226	22	6	22
16	III. Fish dealers	—	628	173	—	128	—	12	12	—	—
17	IV. Owners or users of vegetable oil, butter and other condiments.	70	356	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—
18	V. Bakers of bread, baked flour, pastries, etc., etc.	1,104	673	—	62	—	34	—	3	3	—
19	VI. Milkmen, butchers, vegetable, fruit and meat dealers.	747	1,000	0	71	1	—	—	23	23	24
20	VII. Grocers and pawn dealers	636	273	—	59	—	0	—	0	0	1
21	Trade in clothing and allied trades	277	6,961	1	0	29	—	0	0	0	—
22	Trade in furniture	—	279	1,679	8	69	217	—	—	—	—
23	Trade in fixtures, carpets, vehicles and building	2,004	1,024	0	301	27	1	—	—	—	—
24	Trade in building material	—	4,239	6,235	47	3,010	48	—	0	0	1
25	Trade in services of transport	4,642	6,227	200	233	21	—	0	0	0	21
26	Trade in food	967	4,422	21	2,918	27	2	0	0	0	0
27	Trade in articles of laundry and other personal service to business and the trade and professions	8,813	8,839	20	233	29	29	66	0	0	23
28	Trade in refuse removal	10,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
29	Trade of other sorts	7,638	4,879	26	230	216	22	23	2	0	—
30	III. Shopkeepers, clerks, unskilled workers, apprentices, waiters, waitresses, porters, delivery boys, salesmen, etc., labourers of restaurants and wild animals.	773	1,068	20	124	21	21	21	—	—	—
31	Army	4,040	8,262	676	823	71	0	4	20	0	20
32	Police	—	2,231	72	83	479	0	29	29	29	2
33	III. Police	—	796	1,171	21	369	15	—	—	15	—
34	Public Administration	2,04	1,173	57	2,023	21	0	0	22	22	22
35	Admiralty of the State	7,629	1,021	0	23	26	15	1	37	0	0
36	Education	—	8,040	737	156	21	2	200	22	22	2
37	Law	—	19	1,47	1	69	—	—	—	—	—
38	Medicine	—	7,646	6,74	279	29	29	29	22	22	22
39	III. II. I. Doctors, physicians, surgeons, dentists, midwives, nurses, etc., pharmacists, etc.	971	112	0	124	0	—	—	0	0	—
40	Entertainment	—	5,53	3,06	2	23	0	—	23	23	23
41	Leisure and arts and sciences	—	1	37	267	16	—	1	1	1	—
42	Persons having principal job elsewhere	7,643	2	271	229	29	0	0	27	0	—
43	Diversified agriculture	—	2,877	3	29	279	2	22	1	1	22
44	III. Agricultural, horticultural, pastoral, and other related industries.	6,624	1,068	20	231	21	0	0	22	22	22
45	IV. Farmers, gardeners, market-gardeners, etc., etc.	3,273	1,001	21	1,216	21	0	—	—	—	—
46	V. Farmers, gardeners, market-gardeners, etc., etc.	2	463	290	2,246	0	22	1	2	2	22
47	VI. Forestry, mining, quarrying, brick, stone, lime, gypsum, etc., etc., etc., etc., etc., etc.	6,624	977	0	23	21	0	4	22	22	22
48	VII. Land owners and various others in agriculture.	2	3,07	1	1,16	0	0	0	174	174	174
49	VIII. Other agriculture and horticulture.	6,625	6,22	27	231	2	0	0	0	0	—
50	IX. Agricultural, horticultural, pastoral, and other related industries.	2,878	2,24	2	23	21	0	0	22	22	22

SUBSIDIARY TABLE X.

Number of persons employed on the 10th March 1911 on Railways and in the Post Office and Telegraph Departments

Class of persons employed.	Europeans and Anglo- Indians.	Indians	Remarks
	1	2	

RAILWAYS

<i>TOTAL PERSONS EMPLOYED</i>	..	157	18,476
<i>Persons directly employed</i>	..	156	9,057
Officers	..	22	..
Subordinates drawing more than Rs. 75 per mensem	..	67	47
" " from Rs 20 to Rs 75 per mensem	..	62	1,222
" " under Rs 20 per mensem	..	5	7,788
<i>Persons indirectly employed</i>	..	1	9,419
Contractors	..	1	182
Contractor's regular employés	..	..	2,866
Coolies	..	..	6,770
Menials and sweepers (a)	..	..	101(a) (a) Employed under sanitation committees (Assam-Bengal Railway)

POSTAL DEPARTMENT

<i>TOTAL</i>	..	..	..	6	1,890
Supervising officers	..	..	..	4	9
Postmasters	..	..	..	2	174
Miscellaneous agents	..	..	..	..	138
Clerks (English and vernaculars)	..	..	..	..	137
Postmen, etc	..	..	..	..	510
Road establishment	..	..	..	..	723
Railway Mail Service—					
Sorters ..	..	..	..	..	70
Mail guards, etc	..	..	..	..	55
Combined offices—					
Signalers	..	..	..	..	15
Messengers, etc	..	..	..	..	59

TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT

<i>TOTAL</i>	..	..	..	38	673
Administrative establishment	..	..	..	7	1
Signalling "	..	..	..	31	53
Clerks	..	..	..	..	20
Skilled labour	..	..	..	..	108
Unskilled labour	..	..	..	..	400
Messengers, etc.	..	..	..	..	91